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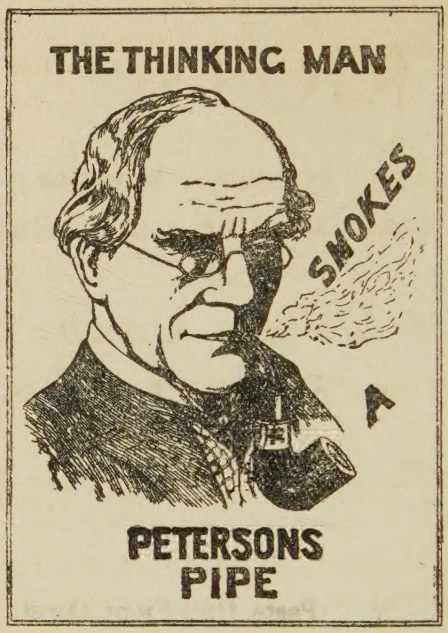

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VOL. XII No. 46

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

JUNE 1923

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A NEW CURRENCY FOR THE FREE STATE

BY BERNARD MCCARTAN

ONE ground for supposing that the Free State will adopt a new currency distinct from the British is based on the admitted fact that the average Irishman is in his way something of an individualist. He likes to emphasise even little things that distinguish him from non-Irishmen, from brother Irishmen, and from other Irishmen. He objects strongly to any condition of things in which there is "no mine and thine distinct," or which does not stress the distinction between what is *mine* and what is *thine*. In saying so much one is, of course, merely insisting on the rather obvious point that we are after all a very human people, and that the points in which we differ from other races are really insignificant in comparison with those characteristics we enjoy in common with the rest of the human species.

Also, it is a fact sufficiently authenticated by world-history that, in practically every case where a community has had the opportunity to adopt a new currency, this opportunity has been availed of. Distinct languages, distinct emblems, distinct currencies—these are the things which distinguish nation from nation. Since, then, the very human weakness of intense individualism is not less and probably is more strongly developed in Ireland than elsewhere, it is reasonable to assume that the opportunity to have a distinctly Irish currency will be seized and acted upon with alacrity.

However, if the Free State should decide to have a

currency of its own, it will probably be driven to do so through the operation of causes far more deep-seated, far more effective, and far more sinister in their effects than reasons of sentiment or hatred of things British. The proposition may perhaps be stated as follows: the unwholesome but entirely human attachment of the people to British money and what it stands for—purchasing-power over goods and services—may well have the ultimate effect of driving that money out of circulation in the Free State altogether, and of substituting an Irish currency to take its place. This is the literal truth, paradoxical as it may seem; and as it is a fundamental point to get hold of, we may dwell on it at some little length.

II.

Man has at all times been an exceedingly active animal, and in general his activity has been expended along two main routes, the first being directed to the production of desirable things (wealth), the second to the appropriation of the desirable things produced by others. Among the nimble expropriators of other people's belongings we must rank some of the least desirable, as well as some of the most necessary classes of people in the world. The work of the swindler, the thief, or the highwayman must be ranked as similar in kind to that of governments when they exact taxation from those they govern or misgovern. The only difference is one of degree. No hard and fast line of demarcation is possible between what is always regarded as the highwayman's illegitimate way of meeting his current expenses and the means adopted by governments to meet their current expenses. Both leave less in our pockets than they found there; and from both we get the same excuse, the danger of greater evil if we do not pay up. It is, of course, attempted by the device of democratic institutions to make people believe that what is spent by government is really spent by themselves, but this particular piece of

philosophical sleight-of-hand deceives nobody. There is in every normal man's mind a conviction that the tax-collector is but a refined species of highwayman, with however this advantage over the ordinary highwayman that he claims, and succeeds in maintaining, a virtual monopoly of the trade. He is the sole legal pocket searcher.

Now in no country has legal pocket searching met with less hearty approval than in Ireland, for in addition to the fact of the pocket searching itself, there was the further consideration that the searching, while on the whole a legal one, was scarcely a just one, being done in the interests of a foreign government. I do not, of course, refer to that element in the population—mainly Scotch—which always did pay up willingly. That raises a question of the mutation of racial characteristics which has not received from sociologists the attention it deserves. No doubt it is due to change of climate. Even with this qualification, however, the main thesis remains unimpaired, that owing to quite exceptional causes the Irish people had their natural objection to paying for government, overlaid and reinforced by the fact that the sort of government they were paying for was not, in fact, the sort they wanted. If to this congenital unwillingness to pay be added a certain degree of present incapacity to pay, and a certain impotence on the part of the Free State Government to exact payment, it must be admitted that on the whole there is little likelihood of the Free State Government having, at the moment, a current income adequate to meet current expenditure.

For consider the situation. The world slump in trade has hit Ireland not less severely than it has hit other countries. Ireland, being primarily an agricultural country, suffered sooner than did more highly industrialised communities. It is characteristic of every period of trade depression that one of the first industries to suffer collapse in the price of its products is agriculture. Thus

this country was one of the first to suffer from the slump, and the agricultural South felt the reaction sooner than did the more highly industrialised North. To this must be added the fact that political unrest had prevented the South from participating to the full in the benefits of the boom period. Thus it is evident that, however willing and anxious the Free State taxpayer may now be to pay his share in the expenses of his own government, there must exist there, as in the North, a certain inability to pay. Besides this there is also to be considered the present unsettled condition of quite appreciable areas of Southern territory, as well as the pre-occupation of the Government with the establishment of elementary security for life and property; all of which make the collection of revenue even in tranquil areas a matter of much difficulty. The same difficulty, though not in the same degree, has of course been brought home to the Government of Northern Ireland; but there is no exact parallel between the two cases since the Imperial Government has been willing to grant, and the Northern Government to accept, sums sufficient to make up the difference between Northern revenue and Northern expenditure.

From the consideration of these facts it should be evident that, owing to a variety of causes, the inadequacy of the revenue must at the moment be a matter of some embarrassment and a cause of no little anxiety to the Government. Indeed the difficulties of the situation have been apparent for some time past even to outsiders. Of course the deficiency in the revenue could be made good in any one of a great variety of ways. Passing over, as beneath our national dignity, such crude and largely ineffectual methods as the holding up of bread vans, or the confiscation of bank deposits, or even the "reduction of government activity" to a scale commensurate with government income, the new State could claim quite respectable precedents for either of two main ways of "raising the wind." It may either float a loan at

home or abroad, or it may begin to play pranks with the currency. To the effects of this latter line of policy we may now turn our attention.

III.

Strange as it may appear at first sight, it is nevertheless true that the Free State Government could introduce a new currency without putting into circulation in Ireland anything with which the people are not already quite familiar. I proceed to explain.

The Bank of Ireland is the official Government Bank. Suppose the Government should say to the Bank: "We are temporarily short of funds, but we are expecting a large instalment of revenue to come in next week, or next month; however, even if our hopes are not fully realised, you have the Government of the Irish nation to fall back on. We want you therefore to accommodate us with a slight extension of credit on current account, whereon we may draw to meet current expenditure." Evidently the Bank could not, in the nature of things, refuse such a modest proposal. But every extension of credit so made to the Government means, when government cheques have to be met over the counter, an extension of the Bank's own note circulation, or alternatively, a diminution of its legal reserve of Treasury-notes. If this process be repeated often enough, a time must necessarily come when the Bank will be compelled to say to the Government: "Through our extension of credit on your account, the circulation of our notes has been expanded as far as is permissible on the basis of our reserve of Treasury-notes. You cannot therefore, compatibly with our continuing in business in accordance with the provisions of the Irish Bank Act of 1845, have any further accommodation from us, unless you are prepared to assume responsibility for our breach of the law." What must happen? Something like what happened in

England on the outbreak of war in 1914. The Government can give authority to the Bank of Ireland (and presumably to the other Irish banks as well) to issue notes in excess of the quantity permitted by Statute.

This new currency, passing into circulation *via* the accounts of the Government creditors, would compete in the national market with the purchasing power of the public already in circulation there, and which by hypothesis has not been reduced (by taxation) in proportion to the increased circulation of Bank-notes. So that there would necessarily be now in circulation a greater amount of money than there had been before; and if there be more money, there would necessarily be a tendency towards a rise in general prices. This rise in prices would attract imports from abroad (practically, from Great Britain), since people will send goods even to Ireland if these goods command a higher price in the Irish market than elsewhere. But now the excess of imports will have to be paid for, and as, presumably, there will not be an increase in exports, and as Irish Bank-notes are not legal tender except in Ireland, there will arise a demand for Treasury-notes for export, to pay for the excessive imports of commodities. Thus would arise a drain of Treasury-notes from Ireland, exactly analogous to the "external drain" of gold which was so well marked a phenomenon of international trade in pre-war days. In this way successive issues of Irish Bank-notes could be continued until all the Treasury-notes had been extruded from the currency of the Free State. This expulsion of Treasuries would not, of course, be an illustration of the working of the tendency known as Oresme's (or Gresham's) law according to which "bad money" drives out "good money," rather would it be due to the fact that whereas Treasury-notes are legal tender in Great Britain and Ireland, the notes of the Irish Banks are legal tender on this side only.

If, in fact, the operation ended when just enough—

and no more than enough—Irish notes were issued to keep the " marginal " Treasury-note out of circulation in the Free State, no great harm would have been done. The Irish Government would have paid its debts (or part of them), another symbol of foreign oppression would have disappeared, and all would be well. But, it may be asked, who really pays the piper—*i.e.*, who really pays the Government's debt, who is poorer now than before the " flutter," who is, in fact, supplying the Irish Government with its revenue ? A little thought must reveal the fact that it can be no other than the people of Great Britain ! For what has happened ? Goods to the value of £x millions have been imported, Treasury-notes to the value of £x millions have been exported in payment, and have been replaced (at a small printing cost) by an equivalent number of Irish Bank notes. The net gain to this country is the total goods imported less the (insignificant) cost of printing the new notes ; and the loss to Great Britain is the total goods sent over here under the attraction of (fractionally) higher prices. Surely a gratifying result, and one without even the possibility of a " catch " in it !

A result practically similar to the one here outlined would, of course, be produced if the Government authorised the issue of an entirely new currency instead of the more familiar Bank notes, just as the Treasury-notes were issued in 1914 instead of Bank of England notes in denominations of £1. It will also be plain that, provided these notes be issued only in such quantities as to drive out, and keep out, the British Treasury-notes, no great harm can result. Normal trade between the two countries would continue, imports paying for exports, Irish Ireland would rejoice, some among us might frown, and a certain section of the Press would extend its agony column ; but beyond this nothing startling need be expected. However, much might in fact depend on which of these two broad lines of financial policy would commend

itself for adoption to the Free State Government. At the present moment, the Free State is in the condition of a badly run-down patient, in a rather " nervy " condition, from which recovery, if attainable at all, can only be secured by careful nursing, perfect quiet, and a strict avoidance of mental excitement of any kind. Undoubtedly, should the Government decide to adopt a new currency, they would be following the line of least resistance by adopting the " Bank note " method, and this method would have the added advantage that it would unquestionably cause the minimum of "psychological shock " to the community, and probably this consideration alone might be enough to ensure its adoption. But time only can tell.

Having now installed the new Irish currency, and left things in so reassuring a condition of equilibrium, this would be a rather opportune moment to bring our investigations to a close, were it not that second thoughts suggest the possibility that the equilibrium may not be, on the whole, a stable one, and that really interesting problems only arise after the point we have now reached is passed. Three things might happen ; either the new currency unit would be maintained at a par of exchange with the British pound, or it might be so manipulated as to become worth more than the pound, or again it might quite as easily drop in value as compared with sterling ; and either of the latter alternatives is, of course, capable of variation in almost any degree. What a field for speculation does not this open up for the imagination ! Let us glance briefly at a few of the possible problems, selected at random from among many that press forward for our consideration.

IV.

Let us suppose, to begin with, that the same cause which produced the new currency (*i.e.*, the inability of the Free State Government to balance its budget by taxation adequate to meet current expenditure) con-

tinues to operate after the point where the last Treasury note has been just driven out of circulation in Ireland. Then any further extension of Bank credit on Government account would, as it had done before, bring into circulation a further increase of purchasing-power, and would lead to a further rise in prices—not however in terms of British pounds, as before, but in terms of Irish currency notes. At once the Irish currency unit would fall in value as compared with the pound sterling, while the higher price level would now offer no inducement to outsiders to rush goods into the Irish market. Of course the Government would have discharged its debt (or part of it), but not this time at the expense of the British public. The burden would now fall entirely on the shoulders of the Irish public, who find, perhaps, that twenty units of their currency only buy as much in the market as nineteen bought before. That is to say, they are in much the same position as they would have been in, had they given up one in every twenty units of currency in their incomes as taxation. As a slight compensation for the rise in prices, however, we should have the satisfaction of seeing our Irish currency quoted in the Money Market in terms of the pound, the franc, the dollar, and so on, and we should realize perhaps that at last we were a nation! But it may here be urged that, since there are more units of currency in circulation, everyone will have more to spend, and no one will be worse off. We may admit the premise, but must dispute the conclusion. Theoretical considerations of rather an involved character, and the practical experience of every community that has engaged in the inflation game, point to the obvious fact that when general prices are rising owing to an increase in the amount of the money medium, whole sections of the population suffer tremendously, for the simple reason that their incomes do *not* automatically rise in proportion to the rise in prices, and can only be made to do so with great difficulty and after

protracted adjustments. This suggests that some members of the community must get *more* than their customary share of the national wealth as a result of the currency inflation, and experience again shows this to be the case.

But to return. The inflation of the new currency would continue *pari passu* with continued Government borrowing from the Banks, prices would continue to rise, the prospects of people with fixed or customary money incomes would continue to fall, and a point is conceivable where at last the Irish currency would be soaring in the company of the Austrian crown, the German mark, and the Russian rouble. . . .

Such a condition of affairs could not be good for the nation. Apart from the undesirable social effects, such as the threatened extinction of the middle classes, from whom, according to Professor Keynes, "all good things come," a policy of inflation or even of ill-managed deflation would have the most disastrous effects on trade, including our trade with Great Britain. Trade can accommodate itself to any currency, however debased or however inflated, provided the value of the money unit be stable over a period of time sufficiently long to prevent contracts of purchase and sale made in terms of it being turned into a gamble. What trade cannot stand is a currency whose purchasing-power is liable to violent or incalculable fluctuations. Hence any tampering with the purchasing-power of the Irish currency unit would necessarily be inimical to trade, and especially to our foreign trade. Such interference with trade relations would be far more unfortunate in its effects here than in Great Britain, since practically all our foreign trade would be affected, as contrasted with a mere fraction of hers. And the injury to this country becomes still more apparent, when it is remembered that our foreign trade is greater, per head of the population, than that of any other country. Thus there is opened up the prospect of serious dislocation

of our trade abroad, as serious as would result from the presence of enemy submarines in the Irish Sea.

But indeed, granted even a modicum of common sense, there is no reason why the Irish currency should go "the primrose way" of some continental currencies in the recent past. Quite exceptional causes have been operating to cause these monetary systems to go as they have gone. The Russian currency, for example, was allowed to go smash, with the avowed intention of overthrowing Capitalism; the currency policy—or lack of policy—of Germany has not been unconnected with the big question of reparations and indemnities. In Ireland there is not yet the danger—or should one say the hope?—of a sustained attack on the present economic settlement, and our "Peace Treaty" leaves us rather comfortably off in the matter of indemnity. On the whole, therefore, things may not prove so unfavourable to currency stability as to necessitate recourse to the printing-press in any dangerous degree; and if so, the dislocatory effect on Industry and Commerce (and on social conditions too) of a chaotic currency policy need not assume very alarming proportions. The current expenditure of the Government may seem large, overwhelmingly large indeed, and revenue may be small and entirely inadequate. But this condition of affairs is not—let us hope—going to be permanent. Much of the expenditure for which provision is being made in the current estimates is not rightly chargeable to current account at all. Some of it is for what the accountant would describe as "Preliminary Expenses," including the cost of combing out competitors in the business of government. 27 per cent. of budgeted expenditure is for reparations for destroyed property and 13 per cent. is the cost of establishing conditions of ordered life throughout the country. £14,000,000 in a total estimated expenditure of under £40,000,000 is thus for what we hope to be expenses of a non-recurrent kind.[1]

[1] The reference is to the Estimates for the financial year 1922-1923.

The question of obtaining an advance from the British Government to cover these extra-ordinary expenses is worth consideration. It is to be remembered that a revision of the financial relations of the two countries is provided for in the Treaty, and no one seriously doubts that a review of the contributions of Ireland to the British Treasury must reveal a large balance due to this country, and there seems no reason to doubt that part of this balance would in fact be advanced to meet the temporary embarrassments of the new Government, provided, firstly, that the Irish Government asked for it, and secondly, that the attitude of the British Government remains favourable to the continued existence of the Free State as a component member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. No one seriously doubts that British opinion will remain favourable. British prestige is at stake, and it is more than probable that the Imperial Parliament would be prepared to go rather a long way to prevent the disappearance of a Government they have assisted to set up, or even to permit such a disunity in these islands as separate monetary systems and policies would create. Time, however, can be the only judge in such a matter.

At worst, even without such assistance, it may be possible for the Free State to carry on with but a small degree of inflation; and at best, we need not probably hope for much better than that.

V.

Assuming that Northern Ireland were all this time outside the Free State, and enjoying the advantages of a sound British currency policy, some interesting reactions might be expected. For one thing, an interesting tourist traffic might be expected to spring up from North to South. It ought to be mentioned that when a country is inflating its currency, the rise in the general price-level, while it moves up in sympathy with the declining value

of the money unit, yet does not keep pace with the inflation. For each new addition to the currency takes some appreciable time to work out its effect on general prices, and so there results a well-marked time-lag of prices behind inflation (as measured by the rates of exchange with foreign currencies). Evidently under such circumstances, anyone who can buy the currency at market quotations, must be in an extremely fortunate position. This explains why, for example, British or American visitors to Germany have been able to stay there at an incredibly small cost. Now a somewhat similar condition of affairs would obtain in this country. Northerners with Treasury-notes in their possession could obtain Free State currency just as they used to buy marks, and at a price that the cost of living in the Free State did not justify. Hence people would undoubtedly tend to move towards the South; and those pleasure-loving souls would perhaps all unwittingly be passive instruments "in achieving an end," as Adam Smith would say, "which was no part of their intention." Racing enthusiasts from Belfast would see, perhaps for the first time, real racehorses at Baldoyle or Leopardstown. The Horse Show would become a field for friendly rivalry between North and South, not merely in horseflesh, but in social brilliance as well. Then amid the fastnesses of Clare and Kerry would be heard the tones of this hard Northern accent we so boast of in the market-place and so blush for at the University. Then would the blandishments of Munster and the gentler appeals of Leinster impinge on eyes accustomed only to the sombre greys of Northern skies, and on ears attuned from childhood to the screech of the factory hooter and the raucous ring of steel on steel. And we would exclaim: "Lord, it is good for us to be here!"

And out of all this intermingling of North with South would assuredly spring up something that thoughtful men and women have sighed for and worked for through

the ages, a mutual sympathy based on mutual understanding. Then also might arise, faint and uncertain at first, but none the less real, the idea of another Ireland, an Ireland united, with a unity based not merely on legal forms or on the exigencies of the wholesale trade, but on the apprehension of the essential oneness of our country. Then the immobility of the Northern character, the delight of the politician and the despair of the professor, would, by contact with other minds, take on perhaps a more educative plasticity and a more fruitful adaptability. Thus, we submit, would be created an atmosphere favourable to the attainment of a purpose for which many are expectantly yearning—that is, the unification of antitheses in a higher synthesis, the reconciliation of our national differences in a broader unanimity. Ulster had thoughts of these things in the past. She had them when Dungannon's Meeting-House was the inspiration of her thought, the Mecca of her prophets and marching men.

Anyway, if and when the North does come back to the fold, the return of the prodigal must certainly exercise a reviving influence over the Free State currency whatever condition that should be in at the time of reunion. For then the population among which the currency would circulate would have been increased by about fifty per cent., and the amount of work it would have to do would be increased perhaps rather more. This would have the same effect on the currency as the reunion of North and South after the American Civil War had on the value of the inflated currency of the North. On that occasion the extension of territory, and the increased amount of exchanging that had to be done by the Northern "greenbacks" caused them to appreciate very considerably in value. Similarly in France at the present time, the enlargement of territory consequent on the recovery of the provinces lost in 1870, has given more circulation to the franc, and has prevented its falling in value as much

as it would otherwise have done. And again, there is the case of the British pound, the inflation of which, during the Napoleonic wars, was considerably mitigated by the real extension of its circulation in Ireland following on the settlement of 1800. Similarly our Free State currency would necessarily improve, other things being favourable, if and when Ulster decided to go in and rule in an all-Ireland Parliament. And other things *would* be favourable, for that event in itself would bring to an end many present difficulties—whatever new ones it might create—and would so tend to terminate a present state of things favourable to inflation. Ulster saved us once before—as she has not failed to remind us over and over again—from "brass money and wooden shoes." It may well be that she will save us again, if not from the brass-founder and the clogger, at least from the printer of paper money.

BERNARD MCCARTAN.

COMMENTS ON THE FOREGOING ARTICLE

No I.—BY THOMAS A. FINLAY, S.J., M.A.

Professor of Political Economy, University College, Dublin.

I HAVE been invited to read in proof an article by Mr. B. McCartan and to offer a brief comment on the views it puts forward. The article discusses a question of grave national importance: "A New Currency for the Free State." The writer is of opinion that the Irish Government will desire to manifest its independence by measures calculated to emphasize the new freedom of which it is conscious. One of these measures will, he anticipates, be the establishment of a distinctive Irish currency "It is reasonable to assume," he writes, "that the opportunity of having a distinctly Irish currency will be seized and acted upon with alacrity." There are those who would deem the assumption somewhat hazardous. So far, the Irish Government has shown no symptoms of a defective business sense, nor given grounds for the fear that it will, on some future occasion, make parade of its independence at the cost of its business interests. Rather, its short record seems to offer assurance that if it comes to deal with the delicate questions of currency, it will not sacrifice sound finance to national vanity.

But, allowing the assumption that we are to have a new currency, what, according to Mr. McCartan's forecast, is the novelty we may expect? Not, it would appear, a very startling one. "The Free State Government," he tells us, "could introduce a new currency without putting into circulation in Ireland anything with which the people are

not already quite familiar." What is the device by which the circulating medium with which we are familiar might remain what it is and still be a new currency ? The problem is solved as follows : " The Government can give authority to the Bank of Ireland (and presumably to the other Irish banks as well) to issue notes in excess of the quantity permitted by statute." The excess issue being authorised to meet the needs of the Government would, of course, be put to credit in the Government's bank account. But in due time it would pass into the circulation " *via* the accounts of the Government creditors." There would now " be in circulation a greater amount of money than there had been before." At this stage the country would find itself burdened with an inflated currency, and would not have long to wait for the inevitable consequences. One of the consequences would be the disappearance of the British Treasury note. An element of a depreciated currency in Ireland, but retaining its former purchasing power in England, it would promptly seek the sphere where it could be employed to the greater advantage.

This somewhat dismal anticipation is based on the assumption that the Irish Government, in its quest for funds, would " give authority to the banks to issue notes in excess of the quantity permitted by statute." Is there any reason to believe that it would do this, or would need to do it ? Could it not obtain the funds without any extension of the limits of note issue fixed by the Act of 1845, modified as that Act has been by subsequent legislation ? Let us inquire.

British Treasury notes enter into the Irish circulation to an amount which it would be safe to compute at many millions. Now let us suppose that in authorizing an issue of new notes the Irish Government ordained that these notes should be put in circulation by being exchanged for British Treasury notes, and in no other way. The British notes, as they came into the hands of the bankers, would be passed on to the Irish Treasury, and their place taken by Irish notes, which would now be our only legal tender other than gold. Would not the currency in circulation be in amount exactly what it had been, and would not the Irish Government have added materially to its resources without creating any danger of inflation ?

Again, during the last five years the Irish banks of issue have maintained a note circulation which has never fallen below £17,000,000 and has once risen to over £30,000,000. The fiduciary issue of these banks was by the Act of 1845 limited to £6,350,000. For any excess over that amount the banks were obliged to hold a full equivalent in metallic money, three-fourths of which should be gold. But the needs of war have long since drained away the gold, and, under sanction of the law, its place as cover for the excess note issue has been taken by British Treasury notes and certificates. Suppose these notes and certificates handed over to the Irish Government, and Irish legal tender to an equal amount substituted for them, would the relations of the banks to Irish depositors and Irish borrowers be thereby affected injuriously, or indeed be affected at all ? The change would not for certain add

any "new money" to the existing circulation, and so would not, of itself, make for inflation and consequent depreciation of the currency. It would, however, add substantially to the funds at the disposal of the Irish Government. Taking the bank note circulation at the lowest figure of the last five years, £17,000,000, the excess over the fiduciary issue amounts to more than £10,000,000. The portion of that sum which the banking system of the Free State could, without diminution of its resources, put at the service of the Government would go no little way to lighten the cares of the Finance Minister and the burden of the taxpayer. What could be drawn from the circulating currency—probably half as much more—by the methods indicated would add materially to these desirable results.

To put the matter briefly: An issue of inconvertible paper currency, made legal tender by Government authority, is of its nature a forced loan. A loan of this kind was imposed by the British Parliament during the war. Ireland's contribution is represented by the amount of British Treasury paper which entered into and became part of the Irish circulation *plus* that which replaced the gold cover of the non-fiduciary note issue of the Irish banks. The measures above indicated would in effect transfer to the Irish Government that portion of the proceeds of the loan which Ireland has contributed. They would merely substitute one borrower for another without change in the amount borrowed. Granted that both borrowers are equally solvent, neither the volume nor the value of Ireland's existing currency would be affected by the transaction.

It may be of interest to add that the transfer would impose a new duty on the Irish Ministry of Finance. At the moment, the Irish bank note has the same purchasing power as the note of the British Treasury. It is of much importance to this country that the equality should be maintained. Important for the commercial intercourse between Ireland and Great Britain; specially important for the market transactions between the Free State and the portion of Northern Ireland in which the British note will remain legal tender. England is striving steadily and successfully for the restoration of the gold standard. Every new advance towards that goal will add to the purchasing power of her paper currency. It would be the task of the Irish Government to effect a corresponding increase in the purchasing power of Irish legal tender. This could be accomplished by a gradual reduction in the volume of the authorized issue—a process which would involve expenditure. For the time, we might be spared this expenditure if developments in Irish industry and trade so increased the demand for currency as to raise the purchasing power of the note. But eventually Ireland, like England, would, no doubt, pay off the debt represented by her inconvertible paper tokens in the only way in which it could be discharged. T. A. Finlay.

No. II.—by Lionel Smith-Gordon, M.A.

Managing Director of the National Land Bank.

Mr. McCartan is, I think, right in assuming that natural forces will sooner or later bring about a change of currency in the Saorstát. Fiscal

independence requires this on other grounds besides those of pure sentiment. So long as we accept British currency as our currency we remain a part of Great Britain, and any change in her fortunes brings about a change in ours. Part of our age-long grievance has been caused by the attempt to apply the same treatment to two countries whose economic structure is fundamentally dissimilar, and to continue this system now that we have an opportunity to change would be somewhat ridiculous. On the other hand, there can be no question that a change in the currency will involve temporary inconvenience, and even hardship, to most people ; it will make trade with England less easy, and it will place on the shoulders of the Ministry of Finance a new burden of responsibility even greater than any of those which they have already to bear. It is, therefore, to be hoped that no steps will be taken in the matter until other things have settled down and the experts can consider the whole question calmly and in detail.

The first requisite of a sound currency is that it should be acceptable to anybody at any time or place at its full nominal value. Before the war the British sovereign fulfilled this requirement in a remarkable degree, and the delicate mechanism by which the Bank of England controlled the gold market gave it also the reasonable elasticity which is the second requisite. To this soundness of currency England owed a great part of her commercial predominance. Since 1914 the issue of an inflated paper currency, followed at a later date by a drastic policy of deflation, has shaken this predominance. The results of unsound currency policy are far more strikingly illustrated in many other European countries. All these disasters result from an attempt on the part of Governments to get something for nothing ; until it is fully realised that you cannot create value by printing pieces of paper chaos will continue. Yet Mr. McCartan (and he will have many sympathisers) boldly contemplates the possibility of "playing pranks with the currancy" as one of the methods by which a new State may hope to raise revenue. It is true that a gambler may raise revenue by the issue of I.O.U.'s ; but the amount of it is limited by the credulity of his friends. A State which issues I.O.U.'s is committing an outrage on its citizens unless these I.O.U.'s are strictly limited in amount to the amount which the State can expect to redeem if called upon. Redemption must take place in one of two ways—either by services which are paid for by taxation or in some intrinsically valuable medium such as gold. Mr. McCartan's indefinitely expanded bank-note currency would have practically no backing whatever and would steadily depreciate.

If we are to have a new currency, we must make up our minds in the first place upon what it is to be based, and personally I confess to a vigorous prejudice in favour of a gold standard. If this is adopted it means that any person possessing a legal tender pound note can obtain in exchange for it a gold coin of that nominal value. To achieve this it is not necessary to hold as much gold in reserve as there are notes outstanding—any more than a Bank holds cash sufficient to meet the total amount of its liabilities to the public. It has to hold enough cash

to meet any average requirements and to keep the confidence of its depositors. The position of the State to currency-holders is the same as that of a Bank to its depositors, and it is in the regulation of this relationship that we see the necessity for expert knowledge and delicate judgment. It is practically essential that the whole business should be in the hands of a Bank of Issue, and the relations of this Bank with the Government must be very carefully adjusted. Such a Bank will have important functions to perform as a central institution; for it must be recognised that, as soon as the currency is changed, the existing Irish Banks will have to remodel their business to a very large extent. Out of ten Banks with branches in the Saorstát no less than five will become foreign banks; furthermore, every trader who deals with England will then be doing a foreign business, and the Banks will have to enlarge their foreign trade departments accordingly, and will have to listen to the statements of the Bank of Issue as to the desirability of expanding or contracting the credit allowed for such business.

Finally, if we are to have a gold basis, we must have gold—but during the war all our gold was shipped to England. We might, of course, make a good case for getting it back. But a better plan would probably be to call in the British Treasury notes circulating in this country, and to substitute for them an Irish currency of the same nominal value. The Irish Government would then have assumed an obligation to the Irish people, and in return would be in possession of a quantity of British paper with which a credit (redeemable in gold) could be established at the Bank of England. This has always seemed to me the easiest and most profitable way of tackling the Irish currency problem; but I trust that nothing will be done in a hurry. LIONEL SMITH-GORDON.

No. III.—BY FRANCIS L. LEET, LL.D.

Lecturer in Banking and Finance, University College, Dublin.

THE question of a new currency for the Free State will shortly engage public attention. It should not be an occasion for taking a leap in the dark. With many people, no doubt, sentiment will count for more than economic principles. If a sound public opinion is to be formed on this matter of grave national importance there must be a good deal of preliminary exposition and discussion in the public press. Sir Robert Woods, writing in 1920 (when he represented Dublin University in the Imperial Parliament), and referring to Southern Ireland under its own Government, said: "We shall have a separate Exchequer, and shall have to finance our own country. In such case there is no reason in nature or justice why we should accept, to our own impoverishment, notes that do not belong to us." This frank statement must shock the hearts and minds of those who have a constitutional respect for the British currency note, as to most of them it would appear an incredible thing that the said note could under any circumstances be a cause of

impoverishment. The fact, however, is that Sir Robert Woods was even truer than he knew. But let us clear the ground.

When we talk of a new currency for the Free State, do we mean an entirely new monetary system based on a standard of value differing from the sovereign or the pound sterling; or have we distinctly in mind the retention of the existing standard in conjunction with Irish notes and Irish coins only, to the exclusion of British currency notes and coins? Widely different issues are involved in this distinction. As regards the first of these alternatives, Professor Bastable counsels us that "financial stability is bound up with the avoidance of any grave disturbance of the standard of value"; and further, that "security is so vital a factor in economic efficiency that the mere possibility of change has a depressing effect." With respect to the second alternative, we are advised by the same authority that "it is by building on the sound basis of present institutions and making the fullest use of the lessons so abundant in this part of economic history that the highest standard of efficiency can be attained." There are clear and compelling reasons for the exclusion of the British currency note which will appear in the course of the argument.

Bank-note issue in Ireland is now regulated by the Irish Bank Act, 1845, and the Currency and Bank Notes Act, 1914. The total circulation of the six banks of issue amounted in February last to £17,026,579. These notes are expressed to be payable on demand at the head office of the bank issuing them, and the bank's obligation is to pay the bearer in gold or in currency notes. Bank-notes are not legal tender in Ireland at the present time.

Every bank certified under the Act of 1845 has a privileged fiduciary issue; that is, an issue resting on the general credit of the bank and not required by law to be secured by a corresponding holding of gold or currency notes. The amount of the fiduciary issue in each case was determined originally by the average circulation of the bank for the year 1844-45. The total amount of such issues is £6,354,494. The profit derived by the banks from note circulation is necessarily confined to the fiduciary part of it.

All notes issued over and above the fiduciary limits must, under penalty of forfeiture, be secured by a corresponding sum of gold or silver coin (the latter not to exceed one-fourth part of the gold), or else by currency notes.

It may be taken for granted that at the present moment the bulk of the secured issues is covered by British currency notes—*i.e.*, according to actual practice, by currency note certificates held by the Bank of England on behalf of the banks concerned. These certificates are bought and paid for by the Irish banks, which means that the British Government at the present time hold about £10,500,000, free of interest, from the said banks.

If, therefore, the Free State Government should by legislation provide that the extra-fiduciary issues of the banks in Southern Ireland

shall be covered and secured by Irish Treasury certificates, it would follow that approximately ten millions of money would be credited forthwith to the Free State Exchequer Account. Other developments would ensue. The expenditure of this sum for Government purposes would involve an increased issue of bank notes, and the amount of such increase would have to be covered by further Irish Treasury certificates, the purchase money, as before, going to the credit of the Irish Exchequer Account.

It may be asked : what becomes of the security for the note holder if the Government spend up to the hilt the money which they hold as cover for the notes ? The notes are secured in the first place by the general assets of the bank ; secondly, by the uncalled capital and Reserve Liability capital of the issuing banks, which, omitting the three northern banks, amounts to £9,540,000 ; thirdly, by the unlimited liability of all the shareholders to make good every note holder's claim ; and fourthly, by the liability of the Government on their certificates held by the banks. The security for the bank notes is unimpeachable.

So far it has only been supposed that the currency note would be displaced from its statutory position as cover for the note issues. If now it be assumed that the Free State Government prohibited the *issue* of currency notes by the banks very much in the same way that Irish and Scotch banks are prohibited from issuing their notes in England, but at the same time providing that currency notes should be as freely negotiable as cheques, the almost complete elimination of the currency note would be only a question of time and its place would be taken by the Irish bank note.

It is difficult to form an estimate of the amount of currency notes now circulating in Southern Ireland. Sir R. Woods put it at one-ninth of the total currency notes circulating in Great Britain and Ireland, including certificates held as cover. On this ratio there would be £20,000,000 currency notes in the tills of the banks and in the hands of the people in the twenty-six counties at the present time. It is obvious that an immense expansion of the bank-note issue would be the necessary consequence of the elimination of the currency note, and attending this expansion there would be the issue of Free State certificates for cover and the transfer of equivalent funds by the banks to Government account.

The question of legal tender would require special legislation. Under the Currency and Bank Notes Act, 1914, the notes issued by any bank of issue in Ireland were made legal tender for a payment of any amount in Ireland, except at the head office of such bank, where currency notes should be paid out if demanded. This enactment has been revoked ; but it serves to remind us that, during a period of six years and while all the elements of financial confusion and disaster abounded, the Irish banks not only sustained their reputation but by their imperturbable self-possession, sound judgment and active intelligence made a record which entitles them to the fullest confidence of the Government and the people.

In this direction, then, may be found the solution of the problem we have in hand—a new currency for the Irish Free State. We need not go abroad to find an ideal monetary system, nor search among Milesian antiquities to obtain a national model. We have here and now in our native Irish banks all the essentials of a sound, economic currency instrument, which only requires the guarantee of the Government certificate and the statutory status of legal tender to make it immediately adequate for all the industrial, commercial and social needs of the new State. This solution of the currency question will not be the less satisfactory because incidentally it provides the Government with a half score of millions in hands and the certainty of a still larger contribution in due sequence of currency operations. The taxpayer will be appreciably relieved. Reconstruction, reparation and compensation will be accelerated. The paralysing blight of an empty Exchequer will disappear. Public confidence in the Government, which has already been honestly earned, will acquire new force, a deeper significance and spontaneous expression.

F. L. LEET.

No. IV.—BY CHARLES F. BASTABLE, M.A., LL.D.

Professor of Political Economy, Trinity College, Dublin.

[*The foregoing symposium would not be complete if it did not include an expression of Professor Bastable's views. Unfortunately, Professor Bastable had already published his views in the* Manchester Guardian Commercial (*Irish Supplement, May* 10) *before we approached him. He has, however, given us permission to reproduce any passages we consider pertinent to the present symposium. The Editor of the* Manchester Guardian Commercial *has granted us the same permission.*—EDITOR.]

ONE of the most serious questions raised by the partition of Ireland and the inauguration of the Free State is that of the adjustments in currency and banking which may have to be made as a consequence of the change. For almost a century the United Kingdom possessed a single monetary system, based on the full adoption of the gold standard. One obvious result has been the facilities afforded to trade and industry by the existence of a single standard of values and the convenient settlement of accounts between residents in the several parts of the common monetary area. . . . .

Financial stability is bound up with the avoidance of any grave disturbance of the standard of values or any serious break in the relations with outside countries. This weighty consideration is supported by the unhappy division of the area of Ireland in a way that must specially affect the banking machinery. In the growth of Irish banking there was a difference between the Dublin and Northern companies, which has been gradually reduced as the result of the extension of the branches of all companies over wide areas of the country. The titles "Belfast," "Ulster," "Northern" do not mark their bearers as limited to the districts denoted by their names. All the banks in a very real sense have Ireland as their field of action. Further, there is the instructive

fact that the largest Irish bank, the "National," is engaged in business in England, and is actually one of the London "clearing banks." Two of the northern banks are affiliated to great London institutions, and all avail themselves of the London money market. The business of financing the cattle trade of Ireland—to take an outstanding example—is essentially dependent on this complex and flexible organisation. The flow of Irish capital is guided and adjusted by the same instrumentality. . . . .

That the establishment of different legislative regulations for the two divisions of Ireland, in addition to the political separation from Great Britain, must prove disturbing to trade and finance is too obvious to need insistence. Security is so vital a factor in economic efficiency that the mere possibility of a change has a depressing influence. The immense value of monetary stability has been amply demonstrated by the experiences of European countries during and since the Great War. The loss of a safe and well-known medium of exchange is not a matter to be lightly contemplated or hastily incurred.

In spite of the very strong reasons for careful and conservative treatment of monetary and credit questions, there are claims of varying nature and character which may be urged in favour of radical changes.

Firstly, there is the very natural idea that a National Government should exercise its function as a controller of the money, both metallic and paper, in circulation within its territory. The capacity of Irish artists might be displayed in designs for coinage as well as for postage stamps. Coinage belongs to Caesar, and its symbolism should indicate the spirit of the Government. Sentiment will not let itself be ignored in dealing with matters that might be regarded as resting altogether on utilitarian considerations.

Support for currency changes will also be derived from the desire of certain sections in the country to obtain a connection with other monetary systems, and especially with that of the United States. The dollar, it is thought, could easily supplant the pound, and thus Ireland would have at once the benefit of a decimal system and a closer link with America.

Even more likely to come to the front are plans for manipulating the paper circulation. As British currency notes will have to be replaced by some form of Irish circulation, there will be full opportunity for the propounders of fancy monetary schemes to press their particular devices on the attention of the Government and the public. Under such conditions the utmost care and sobriety of judgment will be called for if disaster is to be avoided.

The first consideration to be borne in mind is the fact that, so far as the internal circulation was concerned, there was no real need for the employment of currency notes. The existence of a flexible and thoroughly guaranteed circulation of £1 notes was sufficient for the requirements of the country. Notes for 10*s.* could have been supplied by the banks without any risk or fear of over-issue. The movement of the circulation

from 1914 to the present time affords decisive proof of the capacity of the Irish banks to supply a safe and efficient paper circulation. . . .

Questions as to the readjustment of the privileges of the several note-issuing banks and the claim of the State for a share in the profit derived from an expanding circulation will have to be decided. Their treatment will be made more difficult by the existence of " Partition." The fact that any pronounced monetary change would intensify the separation of the industrial area surrounding Belfast, where retention of the British currency may be regarded as certain, is a weighty reason for caution in handling the matter. Under a new monetary system all the troublesome forms and methods of the foreign exchanges would come into operation, increasing the complication and adding to the cost of commercial transactions without any compensating gain. In building for the future, the conditions inherited from the past can never be allowed to drop out of sight. In such a vital matter as the monetary and credit organisation of a country this consideration is specially needed. . . . .

Altogether, apart from the possibilities of legislative or administrative changes, there are serious problems in connection with the normal development in the near future of both money and credit. As the depreciation of the pound passes away and the gold standard becomes definitely established, the question of the actual use of gold coins in the circulation will arise. The English pre-war prejudice in favour of gold never had much influence in Ireland. Just as in Scotland, the use of £1 notes met the needs of the people. There was, however, especially in the towns, a free use of sovereigns and half-sovereigns, which were preferred by some to paper as being cleaner and more easily handled. Should there be no return to the use of gold in the circulation, an issue of 10*s*. notes, preferably by the banks, would be required. Then the question of the constitution of the bank reserves will naturally arise. . . . .

Any development of banking policy is, however, contingent on the course adopted by the Irish Government in its treatment of the monetary and financial condition. As the continuance of the old system under which a single bank is the agent of the State seems very unlikely, the alternative method of Government dealings with the associated banks of the country is that which would be at once the fairest and the one involving the least disturbance in established conditions. A long experience in the United States has shown the evils arising from a defective policy in the relations of the State to the banks; the result appears to be that the best system is that which utilises the banking machinery in order to prevent either undue locking-up of public funds or too severe pressure on the taxpayers in the process of collection. The easy way in which the annuities in connection with land purchase have been collected is an interesting example of the efficient working of the Irish banking system in relation to Government business.

A much graver question may be kept over until conditions are more definitely settled—viz., the advisability of bringing into existence a State Bank, which would be at once the agent of the Government and

the centre of the banking organisation. There would naturally come up the difficult issue between the taking over of one of the present banks and the creation of an entirely new body. The evidence respecting State banks is not as yet of a kind to lead to a decisive judgment as to their merits in contrast with the system of joint-stock banks, nor is the best form of relation between the State establishment and other banks at all clearly defined. Probably the comparison of the methods of the Canadian and Australian Federations in their treatment of currency and banking will afford the best criterion as to the true line of future development. . . . .

There remains a further aspect of Irish currency and credit problems that will increase in importance in the future—viz., the relation with the similar problems of other countries, and indeed with the world as a whole. No one who observes the course of things from the economic side can fail to recognise the need for monetary reorganisation on the international scale. Whatever be the appearance during the present transition stage, there can be no doubt that with the restoration of the economic system of the civilised world there will be an evolution of some type of world money to facilitate the operations of world commerce. Nor will forms of international credit be left without development for the same object. None of the smaller countries can permit itself to remain outside this super-State financial machinery. A political League of Nations can only deal with questions lying in its special sphere. The economic life of the trading communities will be bound to evolve monetary instruments of the kind most suitable for its requirements. The process may be a slow one, but it will operate with greater force as the recovery of the European societies from their present troubled conditions becomes pronounced. . . . This process is one in which Ireland is deeply interested. The increase of its foreign trade, the development of its more promising industries, and, finally, the best use of its disposable wealth are objects which can be furthered by its possession of the best currency and credit that exist. It is by building on the sound basis of present institutions and by making the fullest use of the lessons so abundant in this part of economic history that the highest standard of efficiency can be attained.

C. F. Bastable

PALESTINIAN CUSTOMS AS ILLUSTRATING THE BIBLE

BY EDMOND POWER, S.J., D.LITT. ORIENT.
Professor of Biblical Archæology, Biblical Institute, Rome.

Part VII.[1]

IN our study of Palestinian customs in their relation to the Bible the interesting question of Oriental dress, ancient and modern, still remains to be treated. Nobody will contest the utility to the Scripture student of a knowledge of the general costume and various articles of apparel worn in Biblical times. He can thus understand a number of allusions in the text that would otherwise escape him, and, what is perhaps of even greater importance, familiarise and identify himself more completely with the scenes depicted in the sacred narrative. Now it unfortunately happens that the monuments and written records give us little definite information on ancient Jewish dress. Nor is modern Jewish costume more enlightening; for the Jews, after their exodus from Palestine, adopted the various costumes of the different countries in which they settled. Hence the Palestinians remain our principal and almost unique source of information.[2] The ample proofs we have already had of their innate conservatism and fidelity to ancient tradition afford a strong presumption in their favour in this matter also. Moreover, the simple and primitive garb of the villagers, with whom now as previously we are particularly

[1] For Parts I-VI see the issues of Sept., 1919, March, Sept. and Dec., 1920, March and Sept., 1921.

[2] The articles of Philip J. Baldensperger on Clothes and Fashions, in the Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement, 1915, pp. 66/72, 165/170, 1916. pp. 19/26, 71/77, are particularly interesting and have been utilised throughout, besides the other literature mentioned in this and previous articles.

concerned, is an additional argument for its antiquity. And finally the facility with which we can explain scriptural allusions to clothing from the present-day costume, confirms the conclusion that modern and ancient dress are substantially identical, due allowance being, of course, made for slight and incidental changes introduced in the progress of time.

The Orientals differ greatly from us in their conception of dress. This is due partly to their simplicity and lack of cultural development, and partly to the general warmth of the climate. They find anything tight-fitting a restraint, and prefer a loose airy costume, with a display of colours bright like their brilliant sunshine. Long flowing robes, which give a heightened appearance to the stature, are worn by the idle and well-to-do, just as in the time of Our Lord, who found fault with the long robes of the scribes[1] and the ostentatious fringes of the Pharisees.[2] Different colours and materials, and different styles especially of the outer cloak, often denote distinctions in rank, as in the case of the rich man in the Gospel, who was clothed in purple and fine linen.[3] Ornaments of the gaudiest character are affected by all who can afford them, partly with a view to ostentation and partly through fear of the evil eye, which, it is hoped, will be distracted by them from the person exposed to its malignant influence.

The general looseness of the costume, which makes tailoring of little importance as one man's garment can always be made to fit another, helps us to understand the common custom of giving garments as presents in the ancient and modern East. Thus Joseph in Egypt gave five robes to Benjamin and two to each of his remaining brothers.[4] Samson gave each of the thirty Philistines who had solved his riddle, a shirt and a change of garments, as he had promised.[5] Ghiezi, the servant of

[1] Mc. xii, 38. [2] Mt. xxiii, 5. [3] Lc. xvi, 19. [4] Gen. xlv, 22.
[5] Jud. xiv, 12, 19.

Eliseus, got two changes of garments from Naaman the Syrian.[1] Many suppose that the king in the Gospel parable, who brought in the poor and the wretched from the highways and byeways to the marriage feast,[2] had wedding garments provided for his guests. This would not only explain his natural indignation against the man who had no nuptial robe, for the refusal of a present, always offensive in the East, would be particularly so in the circumstances, but would also enforce the significance of the lesson meant to be conveyed, by implying that the wedding garment of charity is offered by Almighty God to every man, as a free gift, and must be his unless he deliberately refuses it.

The Fellahin or peasant villagers of Palestine wear in their homes, or when at work in the fields, a single inner garment secured by a girdle. This usually consists of a long width of cotton folded into two equal parts for the front and back and sewn together at the sides. An opening is made for the head and neck, and there are two holes for the arms. The garment, when ungirt, extends to the ground ; but it is usually pulled a little above the girdle, so that in the case of women it reaches the ankles, and in the case of men, about midway between the knees and the ankles. The colour is generally white for the men and blue for the women. Sometimes, especially in Transjordanic Palestine, the inner garment has sleeves extending to the wrists, with long points hanging down to a little below the knees. The dependent points of the sleeves are used to carry money, tobacco and various odds and ends knotted up in them. When men are engaged in fighting or active employment and women in various agricultural and domestic labours, the sleeves are drawn up and secured behind the neck by the long points. The baring of the arm is thus a symbol of activity, referred to by the prophet Isaias when he said : " The Lord hath made bare his holy arm " [3]

[1] 4 Kings v, 23. [2] Mt. xxii, 2/14. [3] Isaias lii, 10.

This garment undoubtedly corresponds to the *kittonet* and χυτών, the inner garment of the Old and New Testament. And as the ancient name has given us tonaca and tunic, by a slight transposition that first appears in the Latin *tunica*, so its Arabic equivalent, *kamîs*, becomes in modern European languages camicia and chemise. Representations of Jewish prisoners on the palace walls of Sennacherib show them wearing this tunic.[1] In one figure, where the Hebrews appear with hands raised in the act of supplication, the tunic is loose and reaches the ankles; in another, which represents them at work, it only extends to the knees and is confined by a girdle. The difference between the two figures is naturally attributed to the different attitudes of helpless supplication and laborious work. Isaias says that Tyre has no cincture, meaning that she is reduced to impotence;[2] and Job declares that God loosens the cincture of the strong, that is, makes them weak and helpless.[3] On the other hand the girding of the loins and raising up of the tunic was, and still is, the regular indication of work and travel. At the present day the sole garment of the water-carrier in the towns is a rough tunic girt and reaching only to the knees. The style of the dress corresponds to the meanness of the occupation, which, it will be remembered, was one of the two imposed by Joshuah on the deceitful Gabaonites.[4]

The inner garment has usually an opening in front, extending from the collar more than half-way down to the waist. When it is drawn up a little, after being girded, a large space is provided in front of the breast, which serves as a pocket. This pocket is called the *ʿubb* or bosom, and in it all kinds of things are carried, such as bread and olives for the mid-day meal, corn for sowing, a new-born lamb or kid. Our Lord referred to this pocket and one of its uses when he said: "Good measure pressed

[1] Cf. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, p. 75, fig. 31, 32.
[2] Isaias xxiii, 10. [3] Job xii, 21. [4] Josh. ix, 23.

down and shaken together and running over shall they give into your bosom."[1] Isaias also alludes to it in one of his messianic prophecies when he says: "He shall gather together the lambs with his arm and shall take them up in his bosom."[2] When the Saviour appeared to the eleven on the first Low Sunday, wearing, as we may presume, his ordinary costume, it was through this opening that the unbelieving Thomas extended his hand and put it into the wound in the sacred side of his risen Lord. "Put in thy finger hither and see my hands; and bring hither thy hand and put it into my side and be not faithless but believing."[3] The wounds in the hands were both seen and felt, but that on the side was only felt.

In the case of women in particular, the inner garment is often variously ornamented. The collar, sleeves and hem of the skirt are embroidered in silk of various colours; there is usually a square piece of red and yellow cloth patch-work or of embroidered silk on the breast; and similar pieces of patch-work are sometimes to be found also on the sleeves and skirt. This garment is the gala-dress of the peasant-woman and may replace the every-day one or be worn over it. It is called a royal garment in some places, and thus reminds us of the embroidered *kittonet* of Absalom's sister, Thamar, which the king's unmarried daughters were wont to wear.[4] Joseph's tunic of many colours[5] was no doubt similarly adorned, just as in the East at the present day the tunics of children, to whom their parents are particularly attached, have the seams, collar and front borders embroidered with red designs or points. The Hebrew expression by which the tunics of Joseph and Thamar are designated, *kittonet passim*, is rendered in the Vulgate "coat of divers colours" in the first case, and "long robe" in the second. The latter interpretation is based on the fact that *passim* usually means the flat parts of the hands or feet; hence

[1] Lc. vi, 38. [2] Isaias xl, 11. [3] Joh. xx, 27. [4] 2 Kings xiii, 18.
[5] Gen. xxxvii, 3.

it is taken to imply that the tunic extended to the soles of the feet. On the other hand a reduplicated form of the same root, *paspas*, means many-coloured in the cognate Assyrian and Arabic languages, and the plural noun, *paspasin*, means many-coloured stuffs in new Hebrew. It is interesting to find the latter explanation, which seems to be the more natural as well as the more familiar one, confirmed by modern Palestinian customs. A long robe might suit Thamar, but would scarcely suit Joseph, who probably wore, like boys at the present day, a short tunic reaching only to the knees.

Better-class people in the East often wear two tunics, in which case the under one is always plain and unornamented, just as the gala-dress of the peasant is often worn over the plain every-day one. Our Lord seems to have referred to this custom when he told His disciples not to wear two tunics.[1] Their dress was to be the dress of the poor. He refers also to the custom of wearing only the under garment while working when he says: "And he that is in the field, let him not go back to take his cloak."[2]

A person wearing only the inner tunic is called "naked" in Holy Scripture, as we see clearly in the case of King David, who was taunted with his nakedness by his wife, when he danced before the ark clad in a linen under-garment. Hence the young man in the Gospel of St. Mark who followed our Divine Lord, "having a linen cloth cast about his naked body,"[3] and when seized, "casting off the linen-cloth fled from them naked," may have been wearing his inner garment also, which is never parted with night or day. It was a thin outer garment, hastily thrown on, that was torn from him. It would have been much more difficult for him to escape if the inner tunic had been seized, for that garment, as we have seen, completely encircles the neck and body. Again when Christ appeared to the seven disciples who were

[1] Lc. ix, 3, *cf. ib.* iii. 11. [2] Mt. xxiv, 18. [3] Mc. xiv, 51.

fishing in the Sea of Galilee, we are told that St. Peter, as soon as he recognised his divine Master, "girt his coat about him, for he was naked, and cast himself into the sea." [1] The Apostle was really wearing an under-garment, consisting probably of a cloth fastened round the waist and reaching to the knees, for such is the garb of modern Palestinians in summer-time when they are engaged in fishing, sawing timber, treading clay for the potter and similar laborious occupations.

The loin-cloth, which was not an ordinary article of apparel, but only used on special occasions, must be carefully distinguished from the girdle worn over the inner garment. This is sometimes difficult in the Old Testament, because the same Hebrew word, *hegor* or *hegora*, is employed to designate them. The first clothes made by Adam and Eve were *hegorot* or loin-cloths.[2] It was customary also, as a sign of grief, to gird the loins with a rough garment of hair-cloth. When the Syrians besieged Samaria in the time of Eliseus, we are told that King Joram was so affected by a particularly horrifying instance of the dire straits to which the people were reduced by famine, that he "rent his garment . . . and all the people saw the hair-cloth which he wore within next to the flesh." [3] It is the inner garment, not the mantle, that is rent by the Palestinians of to-day when they bewail their dead, and the rent is effected by a downward enlargement of the opening already referred to between the collar and breast. Thus the modern usage in this matter enables us to understand how the king's penitential garb became visible to the people. Warriors also wore a loin-cloth, probably not very unlike the kilt of the Highlanders in shape and size. When Joab is said to have "put the blood of war on his girdle, that was about his loins, and in his shoes, that were on his feet," [4] it seems more natural to explain the girdle in the context as something like a kilt rather than as a mere belt.

[1] Joh. xxi, 7. [2] Gen. ii, 7. [3] 4 Kings vi, 30. [4] 3 Kings ii, 5.

The girdle proper, as distinguished from the loin-cloth, is an essential part of the Palestinian villager's attire, and is worn immediately over the under-garment, which it encircles at the waist. It is only laid aside when retiring to rest, for without it the peasant would be tripped up at every step by his long tunic. There are various kinds of girdle. The leathern one is still worn by the Bedouins and by some villagers. Such was the belt worn by the prophet Elias [1] and probably by the poorer classes generally in olden times. The peasants now usually wear a softer woollen girdle. We have already remarked in a former article that the girdle is frequently doubled for about a third of its length, so that the space between the two folds, which are tightly sewn together at the edges, may provide a safe receptacle for money, passed in through an opening near the buckle. The Apostles were forbidden by Our Divine Lord to carry money in their girdles.[2] Sometimes an ample and beautiful sash of striped silk or other costly material is worn over the less elaborate under-girdle. But this is more common among the higher classes and the townspeople.

The girdle has various subsidiary uses. All kinds of articles like fire-arms, knives, pipes and small leather water-bottles are carried in it. The professional scribes and the school-children have their ink-horn and pen-holder attached to it. The pens of the Arabs are pieces of reed, pointed like our pens, but without any slit in them. These were universally used in ancient times, for the Greek and New Testament *kalamos* like the Arabic *kalam* means a reed. The pens are contained in the hollow cleft of a brass case, on one side of which is a small brass box, holding some cotton wadding or palm threads, into which the ink is poured to prevent it from spilling. The prophet Ezechiel testifies to a similar use of the girdle in his own time. When describing the vision of the six men who were destroying the inhabitants of

[1] 4 Kings, i. 8. [2] Mt. x, 9; Mc. vi, 8.

Jerusalem, he says: "There was one man in the midst of them, clothed with linen, with a writer's ink-horn at his reins." [1]

The main use of the girdle is, of course, to tuck up the tunic and to hold it in place and thus secure its wearer freedom of movement in work or travel or combat. Hence it is frequently used metaphorically in Holy Scripture to designate promptitude and energy in the service of God. Thus Our Lord warns his followers to have their loins girt and be ready to receive their Master when he comes; for then "he will gird himself, and make them sit down to meat, and passing will minister unto them." [2] St. Paul exhorts the Ephesians to have their loins girt about with truth; [3] for, as the girdle sustains the body and keeps the inner garment properly adjusted, so truth gives consistence and stability to character and conduct. The prophet Isaias says of the future Messiah that "justice shall be the girdle of his loins; and fidelity the girdle of his reins," [4] meaning that all his activity shall spring from and be regulated by these two virtues. As girding oneself denotes strength and freedom of movement, so to be ungirded implies weakness, and to be girded by another may signify restraint. Thus Our Lord said to St. Peter: "When thou wast younger, thou did'st gird thyself and did'st walk where thou would'st. But when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee and lead thee whither thou would'st not. And this he said signifying by what death he should glorify God." [5] It has been suggested that this text implies that those who were to be crucified like St. Peter were girt with a loin-cloth by their executioners. This would support the view, expressed in the Apocryphal Acts of Pilate[6] and adopted by Christian Art, that Our Lord was thus girt when he was crucified. We have already seen that the statement, that men were crucified

[1] Ezechiel ix, 2, 3, 11. [2] Lc. xii, 35/37. [3] Ephes. vi, 14. [4] Isaias xi, 5.
[5] Joh. xxi, 18/19. [6] Acta Pilati x, Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. 246.

naked, in no way rebuts this explanation of the text, which is only rendered doubtful by the fact that the words, "another shall gird thee," may simply mean "another shall bind or constrain thee." The prophet Agabus bound his own hands and feet with St. Paul's girdle, to signify that "the man whose girdle this is, the Jews shall bind in this manner in Jerusalem, and deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles." [1]

Besides his inner garment every Palestinian has also an outer garment, which he wears when travelling and on state occasions, and also uses as a coverlet to protect himself from the cold at night. This is called *aba* or *abaye*. It is usually made of two lengths of woollen stuff, each about seven feet long and two wide, sewn together, so that the length of the garment will be about four feet and its breadth seven. That it may get a grip on the shoulders the sides are folded back for about a foot and a half, and the folded parts are united at the top by overedging, except at the two corners, where holes are left for the arms. Imagine an ordinary sack, four feet long, with holes at both corners, from which a strip, one foot wide, has been cut away all down the centre of its front length, and you have an exact representation of the *abaye*. The arm-holes are seldom used, for the peasant prefers to let his cloak hang loosely over his shoulders. The garment may be of goat-hair or camel-hair as well as of wool, and is usually striped in broad vertical bands of alternating colours, black and white being the most common. A cloak of somewhat similar shape, but lighter and dark or dark-blue in colour, called *shal*—a word which we, like the Arabs, have borrowed from the Persian—is frequently worn instead of the striped *abaye* by the Southern Palestinians and the Bedouins.

The ancient Hebrews in Pentateuchal times wore over the inner tunic an outer garment called *simlah*. Some

[1] Acts xxi, 11.

authorities think that this was a piece of cloth, folded about the body and enveloping it from the knees upwards in such a manner as to leave the lower part of the left arm and the entire right arm and shoulder exposed. Such a mantle was a very ancient Semitic costume, as it is found depicted on Babylonian monuments of the third millenium before Christ and is still worn by poorer classes of Bedouins. Others prefer to compare the *simlah* with the light Egyptian mantle, thrown over the shoulders and open in front, and not unlike the dark *shal* already referred to as still worn in Southern Palestine. The latter view receives direct support from the sacred narrative, for raiment formed part of the spoils of the Egyptians which the Hebrews took with them on their departure.[1] Later on we find another outer garment, called *me'il*, mentioned in the Bible as commonly worn by the higher classes. It was a *me'il* that his mother Anna brought to the youthful Samuel when he ministered before the Lord at Shiloh.[2] The *me'il* worn by the High-Priest, completely enveloping the body and provided with arm-holes instead of sleeves, corresponds in shape with the *abaye*, the only important difference being that it was not open in front. Hence it is generally supposed that the modern peasant's cloak is a direct descendant of the *me'il*.

A probable confirmation of this conclusion is furnished by the only representation, so far discovered, of Hebrews wearing an outer garment. On the famous obelisk of Salmanassar II the envoys of King Jehu appear in full attire, bearing their master's tribute to the Assyrian monarch.[3] Their outer garment extends a little below the knees, is open in front, has very short armlets and is richly decorated with fringes all along the front and nether extremities. Archæologists are generally contented with noticing that this is the Assyrian mantle and attributing its appearance on the Jewish envoys to some

[1] Exodus xii, 35. [2] 1 Kings ii, 19. [3] *Cf.* Benzinger, l.c., p. 76, fig. 36.

caprice or conventionality of the Assyrian artist, who, however, regularly represents foreign nationalities in their distinctively national dress. A recent writer has gone to the opposite extreme of supposing that the Hebrews had by this period adopted Assyrian dress and had never possessed a national costume of their own.[1] The decisive objection to this view is that Jehu's embassy in 842 B.C. was the first friendly intercourse between Hebrews and Assyrians, who had previously only met once in battle in Northern Syria just twelve years earlier in 854 B.C. Does it not seem therefore more natural to suppose that the Assyrian artist represented, with substantial fidelity, the more ornamental outer mantle of the higher Hebrew classes of this period, possibly assimilating it a little to the more familiar Assyrian mantle, with which it was practically identical? As regards the fringes, the most material deviation of this garment from the form of the *abaye*, it was ordained by law, as appears from the Old and New Testament,[2] that the outer garment should be provided with fringes, which were originally, without doubt, the loose ends of the woven stuff, and so would have adorned all the extremities of the mantle. In other respects the *abaye* is merely a rougher type of this garment, such as it would naturally become when adopted by the lower classes, probably long before the time of Our Lord. It is a fairly general rule, particularly well exemplified in the long history of Egyptian costume, as studied by Erman,[3] that new forms of dress, introduced by the higher classes, are gradually in course of time adopted by the lower ones.

The subsidiary uses of the mantle are exactly the same in modern as in ancient times. The *abaye* is regularly employed as a receptacle in which, for instance, purchases are brought from town and grass is conveyed to the cattle or fodder is carried for the horse or camel.

[1] Colonel Repond, *Le Costume du Christ*, Biblica III (1922), p. 5.

[2] Dtn. xxii, 12; Mt. ix, 20.

[3] A. Erman, *Aegypten*, p. 281–2.

Similarly we are told in Exodus that the Israelites, on leaving Egypt, "took dough before it was leavened, and tying it in their cloaks, put it on their shoulders." [1] When one of the sons of the prophets in the days of Eliseus wished to provide a meal for his brethren, he "went out into the field to gather wild herbs . . . and he filled his mantle." [2] The High Priest at Nob kept "the sword of Goliath the Philistine . . . wrapped up in a cloak behind the Ephod." [3] The Israelites, after defeating the Madianites under Gedeon, "spreading a mantle on the ground, cast upon it the earlets of the spoils." [4] A very important use of the cloak is as a coverlet by night. That was why it was ordained in ancient Israel that the outer garment, if taken in pledge, should be restored before night. "For the same is the only thing wherewith he is covered, the clothing of his body, neither hath he any other to sleep in." [5] It is also employed by Mohammedans as a prayer-carpet. This, however, is not an ancient custom but an Islamic innovation.

The law ordaining the restoration of the mantle to its owner before nightfall gave the Israelite a particularly strong claim to this garment, which was not only more valuable than the tunic, but also more sacred by reason of its fringes. These characteristics of the outer garment help us to explain the otherwise puzzling form in which a saying of Our Divine Lord is reported by St. Matthew as contrasted with St. Luke. In the latter we read: "And him that taketh away from thee thy cloak, forbid not to take thy coat also;" [6] but in the former: "And if a man contend with thee in judgment and take away thy coat, let go thy cloak also to him." [7] St. Luke, putting the outer garment as the article seized, follows the more natural order, especially if the seizure be made by an act of violence. But St. Matthew contemplates a quite different situation, a contention in judgment, and

[1] Exodus xii, 34. [2] 4 Kings iv, 40. [3] 1 Kings xxi, 9. Jud. viii, 25.
[5] Exodus xxii, 27. [6] Lc. vi, 29. [7] Mt. v, 40.

supposes the inner garment to be the article claimed in order to emphasise the lesson of being ready to lose, not merely an equivalent object, but a more valuable, more sacred and more assured possession. This would appeal especially to the Jewish Christians, for whom, as we know, St. Matthew's Gospel was particularly intended, while the other manner of presenting the saying would be more obvious and intelligible to the Greeks, unacquainted with the law, whom St. Luke was addressing.

The head-dress of the Palestinian peasant is much more complicated than ours, for he needs a strong protection against the heat of the sun. It usually consists of four parts, a small cotton skull-cap worn night and day, over this another cap of wool or camel-hair, over this again a red fez or tarboosh, and finally, wound around all, the turban, a scarf or cloth of various materials (cotton, wool or silk) and of various colours (red, white, green) according to the district and condition of the wearer. A different kind of head-dress is in use among the Bedouins, namely, a square piece of cloth, folded crosswise so as to form a triangle, and laid on the head in such a manner that the middle extremity hangs down over the back and the two lateral ones cross under the chin and pass over the shoulders. This headcloth is called *keffiye*, and is secured by two coils of twisted wool or camel-hair, which encircle the upper part of the head. It is the most picturesque form of headdress known, and is besides an excellent protection against the sun, as it covers forehead, cheeks and neck as well as head.

The fez or tarboosh of the peasant is the Turkish national headdress, and is undoubtedly a modern innovation without interest for the Scripture student. Nor is there any indication that either of the caps was used in ancient times, though two of the various names given to them have distinct Scriptural associations. The name of the outer one, *kube*^{c}, is identical with the Hebrew

*kobea*ᶜ, a helmet of bronze worn by warriors,[1] while that of the other, *arakiye* or sweat-cloth, recalls the *sudarium* of the New Testament, which is rendered "napkin" in the Vulgate, but means literally "sweat-cloth." A sudarium was wound about the head of Our Divine Lord[2] and Lazarus[3] after death. The sick, when touched by the sudarium of St. Paul, were restored to health.[4] The slothful servant in the parable hid his mina in a sudarium,[5] just as the modern peasant puts letters and similar articles in the folds of his turban for safe keeping. It is evident from these passages that the sudarium of the New Testament was not a cap, but a piece of cloth wound about the head like the turban or the *keffiye*. Similarly the word *sanif*, used to designate the head-dress of important persons in the Old Testament,[6] must etymologically signify a cloth wound about the head. We can thus conclude that a piece of cloth constituted the head covering of Our Divine Lord and His Apostles. Whether it was adjusted after the manner of the peasant's turban or the Bedouin's *keffiye* is uncertain, but the latter alternative is more generally accepted. It may be interesting to note here that the word turban is only a linguistic modification of the Persian *dul-band* or head-band, another modification of which has given us the very different word, tulip. The Spanish *tulipan* and the Italian *tulipano* are more like the original form.

The Palestinian villagers are unacquainted with stockings. Their only foot-wear is either shoes or sandals, which however they seldom wear in the house, and generally prefer to carry in their hands rather than on their feet when travelling. The shoes are made of leather either dyed red or uncoloured, have no laces, and are always pointed and turned up at the toes, probably because that part of the foot needs special protection in

[1] 1 Kings xvii, 38; Ez. xxiii, 24. [2] Joh. xx, 7. [3] Joh. xii, 44. [4] Acts xix, 12. [5] Lc. xix, 20. [6] Zacharias iii, 5; Job xxix, 14; Isaias iii, 23, etc.

hilly and stony ground. Sandals are worn by the poorer peasants and by Bedouins generally, though the latter are also sometimes seen in top-boots. The sandals are stout leather soles, attached to the foot by means of a thong or strip of hide, which passes over the instep, then down the centre of the foot to the great toe, which it sometimes encircles before it is finally secured to a leather button in the sole. There is no doubt that sandals were the footwear of the ancient Hebrews, though the poorer classes generally went barefoot. One argument for this conclusion is that the Hebrew word for footwear, *naʿal*, means the sole of the shoe in Arabic. Besides, the thong is specially mentioned, for instance by Abraham, when he said to Melchisedech: "From the woof thereof to the shoe latchet I will not take of any things that are thine." [1] In the New Testament Our Lord, according to St. Mark, allowed the disciples to wear sandals,[2] and St. Peter certainly wore them; for the angel who delivered him from the prison of King Herod, told him to put on his sandals.[3]

A special contempt is attached to footwear in the East, apparently because shoes, and especially sandals, are so frequently and easily soiled. The peasant will never even mention the word "shoe" in conversation without an apology. He generally removes his shoes, though he keeps his head carefully covered, when he visits a superior or enters a holy place. We are reminded of the order given to Moses: "Put off the shoes from thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." [4] And the same contempt appears when the Psalmist describes the subjection and humiliation of Edom: "Moab is my wash-tub; on Edom I cast my shoe." [5] St. John the Baptist could not therefore find a better means of expressing his humble inferiority to Our Divine Lord than by saying: "The latchet of his shoe

[1] Gen. xiv. 23. [2] Mc. vi. 9. [3] Acts xii. 8. [4] Exodus iii. 5.
[5] Psalm cvii. 10.

I am unworthy to loose." [1] The contempt attached to the shoe latchet is paralleled in the words of Abraham to Melchisedech cited above, and still more forcibly in the account of a blood feud between two Arab tribes in the sixth century. The first blood that was shed to avenge the death of a chief was declared to have only given satisfaction for his shoe latchet, and this insult provoked a war that lasted forty years.

We have confined ourselves in the present article to the study of the dress of the modern Palestinian peasant, and have tried in particular to determine and illustrate the costume worn by the poorer classes in the time of Our Divine Lord. It consisted, as we have seen, of five articles: a tunic closely adhering to the body, a girdle by which the tunic is adjusted, a mantle open in front and enveloping the figure, a cloth for the protection of the head and sandals for the feet. Our conclusion is illustrated, except as regards the head cloth, by the directions St. Peter received from the angel who roused him from sleep and delivered him from prison.[2] The apostle was first commanded to gird himself, words which imply that he wore during sleep an inner garment that was to be fastened by a girdle, then to bind on his sandals, by securing them with the thong in the manner that has been described, and finally to cast his cloak about him, by throwing over his shoulders an outer garment, open in front but wide enough to envelop the figure. The terms employed describe perfectly the dressing operations of the modern Palestinian peasant. Hence there can be little doubt that the unchanging East still preserves in dress as in other matters the manners and customs of former days. And thus from our study of the poorer classes in the Palestine of to-day we are enabled to form a fairly exact idea of the costume worn by Our Divine Lord Himself when he lived and walked in Galilee.

E. Power.

[1] Joh. i, 27. [2] Acts xii, 8.

NAPOLEON III

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Philip Guedalla: *The Second Empire.* (Constable. 1922. 16*s.*)

F. A. Simpson: *Louis Napoleon and the Recovery of France.* (Longmans. 1923. 21*s.*)

THERE are some who find Napoleon III a more interesting study than his uncle. Sympathy is not the emotion that the latter and his plans are calculated to inspire—for real fellow-feeling he seems too remote. Furthermore, intellect and will were so dominant in him as to give a directness and unity to his activity that are obviously wanting in the heir of his name and programme. His character then, if more grandiose and titanic, is less enigmatic and in its architecture simpler than that of the ruler who seemed ever to revolve plans which he was not destined to execute, to embark on policies only to abandon the voyage when half complete, to be doomed to favour ideas and forces which contributed to his destruction. For those who delight in a " problem " Louis Napoleon has his fascination.

But, for whatever reason, he has suffered at the hands of historians and the public. Contempt as well as neglect has been his lot—contempt and neglect which no calm view of his career will find it easy to justify. By no means a fool, his work for France and Europe was far from insignificant. Few European rulers have had his experience of life, and beneath his phlegmatic appearance there was at work an unusually keen intellect. Yet the measure of success he achieved in his far-reaching designs has been forgotten in the *débâcle* of his Empire. Bitter propaganda in alliance with History's worship of success has been severe to his memory.

Yet the monarch who more than half a century ago favoured International Conferences and the Principle of Nationality as sovereign remedies for the ills of Europe, who was sincere in his proposal for the limitation of armaments, who saw in Austria's evacuation of Lombardy and Venetia in exchange for the Danubian principalities the only sensible solution of the Italian question, and who suggested the plebiscite as a method for avoiding war over Schleswig-Holstein, is such a *rara avis* among statesmen as to merit attention, especially at a time which is witnessing the severe testing of similar ideas after their recent adoption amid circumstances of such pomp and ceremony.

Nor is his significance limited to the possession of a vision rare among politicians. He restored France for a while to the leadership of Europe which she had lost at Waterloo, and he gave her the most progressive government—judged by material standards—which she had enjoyed since Louis XIV., with the possible exception of the Consulate. During the twenty years in which he was the leading figure in the political stage, and largely as a result of his life, the great tutelary genuis of Conservatism, Nicholas of Russia, had been humbled, a united Italy and a united Germany had arisen, and the Temporal Power of the Pope had disappeared. The circumstances were, indeed, favourable to great changes—a generation had grown to manhood that had no experience of the miseries of war, and that was consequently no longer content with the policy of repose which seemed so desirable and restful to those who had known the Revolutionary Wars. But such considerations do not take from the importance of the presence during these years at the head of the French state of " a man of ideas," who felt marked sympathy with the national aspirations of the peoples and with Liberal institutions—beyond his own frontiers.

A " dreamer " on the throne of a powerful State may

do much to make his dreams come true. But it must not be forgotten that his own ultimate fate may largely depend on the extent to which his people are sympathetic with his "vision." Now the amount of such sympathy on which Louis Napoleon could count varied considerably with each enterprise. But there was certainly one thing on which he was at one with French sentiment—hostility to the Settlement of Vienna. For this was the symbol of the downfall of his house; it stood for all that he had learned to dislike in International politics, and it represented the national humiliation of France. He was therefore without the ruler's usual conservative respect for established institutions in reference to the most important instrument regulating the relations between the Powers and he could rely on France's support for his attitude. Where such support failed him much would depend on whether he was prepared to bring his views into conformity with national opinion or alternatively was sufficiently strong to go through with his plans in spite of opposition. It was here that he failed.

With his narrow forehead, pale complexion, long cheeks, dull glance and phlegmatic bearing, even physically he fell short of his uncle's impressiveness. Some, it is true, who came into contact with him, behind the dulness of the eye glimpsed the plotter, the dreamer, the man of mystery.

If he was reserved, and often lost in thought, he was kindly, good-tempered, easy-mannered and unaffected. It does not require the italics of Queen Victoria to prove his amiability, unusual personal charm, natural dignity and complete absence of anything that smacked of the parvenu.

Habitually the "silent man," he was yet a competent orator and master of French prose. His pronouncements are often a happy blend of dignity, subtlety, daring and cleverness.

But with many qualities to suggest that he was ad-

mirably cast for the role of the progressive ruler of a contented France, his character and career, looked on as a whole, are unusually rich in contradictions. It is, perhaps, given to no man to be uniformly consistent even in matters of great moment, to make a harmonious whole of his life. Great statesmen are certainly no exceptions. But in those who have accomplished most a powerful will has often succeeded in subduing all minor tendencies and impulses to the service of some dominant purpose. Louis Napoleon's character was not sufficiently masterful to accomplish this. Ideas and forces which would have proved useful had they been properly subordinated, were permitted an independence that proved fatal—the Emperor became their shuttlecock.

Called upon to rule one of the oldest nations in Europe, he ever retained something of the conspirator and petty intriguer of his early manhood. Amid the splendours of the Tuileries, in the first man in Europe the traits of the former companion of the Carbonari are sometimes discernible.

Reckless impulsiveness alternated with pronounced hesitancy, tenacity of purpose with fatalistic inertness. Temperamentally no despot, he aimed at despotism. He continued an autocrat through practically his whole reign, yet he believed in the dawn of liberty and was not hypocritical in his profession of attachment to Liberal institutions. At Bordeaux he proclaimed, without undue insincerity, that the Empire meant peace ; yet he ushered in a new era of great wars, and in part owed his hold on the French people to the appeal his name made to their militaristic instincts—he certainly had no intention of following the fatal example of Louis Philippe in being too careless of the national honour and in surfeiting the people with a stodgy diet of " common sense " in foreign affairs. Selfish, cynical cunning combined with zeal for the public weal and attachment to great causes.

He tried to emulate his uncle by representing the nation as a whole and by holding himself above all parties.

He was not big enough for the effort ; he lacked the forcefulness necessary to compel all parties to the service of the dynasty and the State. All parties were harassed and cajoled in turn ; and this alternation between severities and favours finally left him with the genuine support of none. He became daily less the master and more the sport of party currents.

His brain seemed full of untested schemes, of ideas that he strove to put into action without having adequately thought out their consequences. It was too often only when he had inevitably committed himself that he became aware of the inconveniences involved. Then he tried to mend his hand—but at times even this only half-heartedly. Thus he appears as the man of half-measures, of grandiose undertakings checked in the midway of their realisation. He was condemned to raise hopes which he was not destined to satisfy, to start movements which he could not control.

Yet up to 1859 this indecision and incoherence were not unduly in evidence. The sickness that daily increased its hold upon him may in part explain their subsequent development. The growing irresolution of the sick man was augumented by the family influences to which he was subjected—the Empress urging him one way, Prince Napoleon the opposite. His foreign policy also—too deeply embedded in his nature to be lightly dropped—met with vigorous opposition in important circles of his supporters and aroused enthusiasm only among a few. Probably this must be accounted the most important factor of all. Here again he proved incapable of following the example of his uncle. For in Napoleon I's case, too, a time came when his ambitions and the interests of France diverged, and then the Emperor unhesitatingly trod his own way. When the nephew's personal attachment to the cause of Italian nationality parted company with French traditions and with important bodies of French opinion he halted at the cross-roads.

In the generation that followed Waterloo Bonapartism was a cause distinctly richer in memories than in prospects. But, a prisoner in St. Helena, Napoleon was busy preparing the way for the restoration of his dynasty. Whilst his victorious opponents at the Congress of Vienna tried to rebuild Europe in accord with the maxims of Eighteenth Century statecraft, he was able to foresee some of the strong political forces of the coming age, and he set himself to the task of winning them over to his side. Not satisfied with the appeal which the Consulate and Empire could be relied on to make to the ordinary Frenchman, more attached, perhaps, to order and good government than to politics, in famous conversations he strove, with a gift of judicious emphasis and omission that was sometimes heroic, to recommend them to the Progressives, to the Nationalist, the Liberal, and the Democrat. For had not his enemies been those of all advancement ? But for their victory France and Europe would have enjoyed the blessings of free institutions—and, above all, of peace. Their machinations, however, frustrated all his hopes. Leipzig and Waterloo were as fatal to Europe as to Napoleon.

Thus it was that he became his own first and greatest publicity agent. In the Thirties, under Louis Philippe, whose commonsense mediocrity and " sanity " made such little appeal to the imagination, historians, poets and painters contributed to the growth of the " Napoleonic Legend." The name of Napoleon came thus to symbolise not only a cause, but a definite social, political, national and European programme. Probably few were so deeply impressed as the young man who, by the death of the Duke of Reichstadt in 1832, assumed the mantle of Bonapartist pretender.

He had not only an ambition to satisfy but a mission to fulfil. Had his uncle " been victorious," he says in 1833, " the Duchy of Warsaw would have developed into the Polish nation, the Kingdom of Westphalia into

the German nation, and the 'Kingdom of Italy' into the Italian nation. In France a Liberal would have replaced an autocratic régime. Everywhere we should have seen stability, liberty, and independence supplant incomplete nationalities and transitory institutions." In the works which he published in these years of waiting, no matter what the subject, it is easy to recognise the hold that his "mission" had on him—almost something like a religion. More than once he has occasion to repeat the ideas which as President he so succinctly expressed in a message to the Assembly in 1849: "The name of Napoleon is a complete programme in itself: it stands for order, authority, religion and the welfare of the people at home; for national dignity abroad." It was only in the previous year that he had written to the Constituent Assembly on the occasion of the troubles over his taking his seat as deputy: "My name is the symbol of nationality, order, and glory." And to the lady who asked him to do something for Italy, though he could promise no immediate action, he held out the hope: "Tell them that my name is Bonaparte, and that I feel the responsibility which that name implies. Italy is dear to me, as dear almost as France; but my duties to France must take precedence of everything. I must watch for an opportunity."

Anent this confession of faith and the place occupied by Italy in his mind, it is well to remember that his life had made him the most cosmopolitan of rulers. Not France alone, but Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, England and the United States had contributed to his practical education.

It was the belief in his mission that sustained him in those years which seemed barren in silver lining. The species of fatalism that impeded effort in his decline upheld him then. When perhaps even his faith was beginning to waver, the fall of Louis Philippe again opened wide the doors to hope. Yet even now with calm con-

fidence he bided his time; there was no precipitancy. The dissatisfaction of France with her position in Europe, the disillusionment of the Republicans and the discontent of almost everybody in the months that followed played into his hands and made him President of the Second Republic.

We see him gradually asserting himself against the Assembly and against his ministers. If the older politicians thought that they could manage this "excellent young man," that he was a tool that they could use and discard, they had but themselves to blame for an awakening so little to their liking. They give point to de Tocqueville's remark about the folly of really clever people being wonderful.

At first he thought to extend his power by a legal revision of the Constitution. But the republican Constituent Assembly, having but slight faith in the republicanism of France, had made this practically impossible. Helped by the fact that everybody was envisaging a *coup d'état*, that no party, therefore, looked upon the present state as anything but transitory, convinced by his tours of the Provinces that France would condone any violence necessary to satisfy his and her wishes, he carried through his *coup d'état* on the anniversary of Austerlitz. The great socialistic stroke which the Republicans had promised for 1852 enabled the government to present to the people the alternative—"the reign of the torch or the reign of the sword." By an overwhelming majority the people ratified Louis' action.

The fact that he had represented the country better than the Assemblies had been of great help to him; and his unmistakable acceptance by the people continued to be the real foundation of his power. Even if his *coup d'état* had been a successful effort to rid himself of parliamentary control, if the new constitutions show an autocracy only very thinly disguised, if there were really no effective powers intervening between him and the people,

he never forgot that he was the man of the plebiscite, that he dare not lose the good will of the people; and he never fully lost it—it is doubtful if he had lost it even after Sedan. There was no encouragement for the expression of political views; but the government took care to be fully informed on every phase of popular reaction to political happenings at home and abroad. The people must be kept satisfied—and protected from unhealthy influences. The press was under strict surveillance—it but rarely merited the compliment.

The Emperor who gave France the leadership of Europe and conducted his government not in the interests of the nobility or of the rich bourgeoisie had little to fear from the restlessness of a few republicans or the sarcasm of royalist drawingrooms. For this autocrat was democratic in the basis of his power, and democratic in the conception of his domestic policy. There was a distinct advance in material prosperity—and in this the fourth estate partook, wages increased and the housing problem was grappled with. "Former governments tried to reign by the support of perhaps one million of the educated classes. I have tried to lay hold of the other twenty-nine."

All, of course, in the sense of autocracy, with the man of the plebiscite in full command. More freedom and individual initiative might have been healthier. It was a radical defect of the system that Louis did not share one of his uncle's most useful gifts—the ability to choose efficient subordinates. The absence of this gift became fatal when his health began to decline and his will had lost its earlier tenacity. Was it that, though he had seen many men and lands, this introspective "dreamer" was a poor judge of men? His summing up of Bismarck as a Prussian Gascon was ludicrous, but important.

The material development of the nation was too one-sidedly catered for—what there was of literary or artistic

life owed little of its inspiration to the Empire. It was the golden age of speculation on the Bourse, and the hands of even the monarch's own circle were not clean. The policy as a whole was too reminiscent of "panem et circenses."

But the first opposition on a large scale was evoked by his foreign policy. In this field personal ambition, the desire to satisfy France in one of those things for which his name stood—"glory"—and a genuine attachment to the cause of nationalism, all spurred him on to activity. It was in this last-mentioned factor that his conception of the Napoleonic mission derived strength from his own early development. In his youth he had been the friend of those Germans who looked forward to the unity of their fatherland, and he had fought side by side with Italian revolutionaries. "Compensation" for France was, of course, always possible. Idealism is so seldom pure—and the labourer is worthy of his hire. Europe remodelled along national lines—under French tutelage—glory and gain for France and security for the Napoleonic dynasty, this was the prospect.

And however fatal the effort was to himself he contributed very substantially to the unification of Italy and of Germany. It was perhaps his tragedy that Poland did not make the same strong personal appeal to him as Italy. Action there would have been more in accord with traditional French policy, and would have rallied all parties in France to his standard. But he neglected the opportunities offered by the Crimean war and by the insurrection of 1863. Italy, with the proverbial ingratitude of nations, left him in the lurch in the day of his trial—though it is doubtful that the trial would have come but for his work for Italy—and Germany crushed him.

His first big venture in foreign politics, the Crimean War, gave him the opportunity of transferring the dominance of power in Europe from Russia to France, from Nicholas to Louis Napoleon, and of abasing the man

who would have been the most bitter and formidable opponent of the international programme he had at heart. The war had the further result of leaving the other prospective opponent, Austria, without a friend in Europe. The times of international peace were ended; the "Napoleonic idea" was beginning to find expression.

It was in 1859 that he advanced to the positive realisation of his policy, when he and Cavour fought the war they had plotted against Austria at Plombières. But then also became evident the gulf that separated the Napolenic idea as conceived by Louis from what was perhaps the bulk of French sentiment. Then certainly began an alienation, never to be healed, of Catholic conservative sentiment, which in the previous years had on the whole been rallied to him. The sympathy of the Liberals with his Italian programme was very inadequate compensation—and did not extend to other phases of his régime.

It was now that his inability to impose himself became evident. For the next ten years we see him unable to satisfy the Catholics and the Pope on the one hand, the Liberals and the Italians on the other. And yet he cannot reconcile himself to a definite breach with either. Also, was it quite safe to play the autocrat at home and the Liberal abroad?

It was soon clear that he had under-estimated the strength of the Italian revolutionary movement. His Catholic supporters could not be persuaded that it would be possible to confine it to the Austrian possessions in Italy and that the Papal States would not be involved. Their fears were quickly justified. When revolutionary Italy answered the call to arms which the Emperor issued after Magenta, he was dismayed by the vigour of the reply. He then tried to stop the avalanche which he had started, but this feat was beyond his powers. Though peace was made with Austria, and Venetia remained still unredeemed, elsewhere in the peninsula "Italy" went on

without him. The only thing to do was to exact his price. French-speaking Savoy and Italian-speaking Nice were annexed to France. Thus he was not true even to the principle of nationalism. This and later incidents are witness to the readiness with which the enunciation of high principles may be made to square with the satisfaction of aims that are as old as Richelieu and Louis XIV—and even older still.

On the whole his course of action was calculated to gain for France a minimum of respect, for himself a maximum of odium. Foreign powers were uneasy at the re-emergence of French expansion, Catholics were estranged and the Italians felt they had been left in the lurch. Henceforward a straightforward policy on the Italian question seems to have become impossible for him. He came nearest to a definite decision when he determined to close his eyes to the obvious, accepting Italian promises and agreeing to withdraw the French garrison from Rome. But quickly the facts became too glaring, and he did not dare to keep his eyes shut. Up to the very last he hesitated. In need of an ally against the growing menace of Prussia he refused to pay Italy's price, the surrender of Rome. How could he further alienate opinion in France at a moment when opposition to his government had at last become really serious—an opposition much of which could be traced back to what he had already done for Italy ? When the early disasters of the war of 1870 made him ready to yield, it was already too late. Italy returned the answer that it was not customary to form alliances with the defeated party.

The Polish insurrection of 1863 gave him an opportunity to retrieve his position in France. But Austria though sympathetic was weak, England was unfriendly, and Prussia was definitely on Russia's side—Bismarck had already an eye to the future. In face of this Louis confined himself to sending protests to the Czar—a course of conduct, whilst sufficiently irritating to Russia, of

no use to the Poles. Henceforth France was without an ally in Europe.

For this failure the "great idea of the reign," the ill-starred Mexican adventure, which was to unite Catholic and Liberal France in support of a Latin Empire in Central America, was certainly no compensation. It exhausted the treasury, was galling to France, and was but another instance of Louis' inability to conceive and carry through a clear and definite policy.

But it was beyond the Rhine that his acceptance of the nationalist principle as contained in the Napoleonic Legend proved most strikingly incompatible with his position as ruler of France. It forbade his intervention on behalf of Denmark in the Schleswig-Holstein affair, and Bismark was allowed to take his first big step without any interference from Europe. Louis indeed had long looked with a friendly eye on Prussia. Traditional French policy in favour of a makeweight to Austria in Germany and the prospect of another sword like Piedmont against this anti-national Austria inclined him favourably to her. Furthermore he smiled on the idea of German union, and Prussia seemed destined to realise this idea.

But he did not stop short at passive good will. He promoted that alliance of Prussia and Italy in 1866 which expelled Austria from Germany and Italy. As usual selfish motives mingled with some that were altruistic. When the contending Powers had fought themselves to mutual exhaustion, he, as the *Deus ex machina*, would intervene—winning prestige for himself and France. Beforehand he made no binding stipulation for French "compensation" because, as a good nationalist, he approved so heartily of the aims of the Allies and entirely failed to foresee the suddeness and completeness of the Prussian victory. Prussian quickness upset all his calculations—first in the military leadership of von Moltke and then in the diplomacy of Bismarck. As a result of the policy promoted by her Emperor France had lost that

military pre-eminence in Europe which he had gained for her in the Crimean War.

His efforts to mend his hand, to salve French honour only made matters worse. Demands for " compensation " in Belgium, Luxemburg and the Rhineland only played into Bismarck's hands, increasing European distrust of Napoleonic designs and forcing the South German States into a military Convention with the North German Confederation. Bismarck, having encouraged the definite formulation of these demands, so as to make them serve his purposes, contemptuously rejected the "hotel-keeper's bill."

To save his dynasty the Emperor and his family were forced all the more to grasp at the phantom of glory. Probably he himself had few delusions on the comparative military strength now of France and Prussia. He certainly saw the necessity of preparedness and of radical reforms in the army. But he never had the energy—few were now his days of health—to get his proposals beyond the paper stage.

The tardy acceptance of Parliamentarianism and the advent of the Liberal Empire are not so much proof of conversion to Liberalism as a confession of the relaxing hold over the affections and support of the French people.

Some of his entourage believed that a vigorous attitude to Prussia on the Hohenzollern candidature for the Spanish throne might restore French prestige in Europe and dynastic prestige in France. Napoleon himself was only half convinced, and it was with no great faith in the future that he allowed himself be forced into the war. He had before this thought of a triple alliance of France, Italy and Austria to act as a check on Prussia ; but he was no longer accustomed to prompt thought or action, and his ideas never got beyond the stage of vague proposals. Thus he was left face to face with Germany without an efficient army and without an ally.

His Napoleonic heritage had won and lost him his throne.

J. M. O'Sullivan.

ADRIEN VAN DE VENNE

BY THOMAS BODKIN.

ADRIEN PIETERSZ VAN DE VENNE was born in Delft in 1589, and died at the Hague on November 12th, 1662. He was a man who relished life, and observed it with extraordinary closeness ; who worked with unflagging zeal ; who painted portrait, historical and genre subjects ; who designed hundreds of illustrations ; who made many verses ; who frequented the company of princes without losing touch or sympathy with the common people from whom he sprung ; and who has, therefore, left us a picture of the great age through which he lived broader and more intimate than that achieved by any other of the Dutch masters.

His fame is a matter of recent growth. There is, as yet, but one example of his art to be found in the public collections of Ireland, England, Scotland, France, Italy or America ; and that, a painting in the Louvre, is not entirely a work from his own hand.

In Holland he is held in considerable honour. No fewer than twenty-one of his paintings hang in the Ryks Museum at Amsterdam ; and there are many others to be seen at the Hague, Haarleem, Rotterdam, and in the Six collection. Throughout Germany, too, he is well represented and admired. Pictures by, or attributed to, him may also be seen in the public galleries of Vienna, Petrograd, Stockholm and Christiania.

The main facts of his life have been recorded by the historians of Dutch art, beginning with Houbraken in 1718, and ending with Franken, who published a monograph on his life and work at Amsterdam in 1878.

His portrait, drawn from his own painting by Wenceslaus Hollar, was engraved by Jan Meyssens and first published in Cornelius de Bies' "Het Gulden Cabinet," which appeared in the year of his death. The plate was afterwards used for an English publication: *The True Effigies of the Most Eminent Painters and other Famous Artists,*[1] which appeared in 1794, without the name of author, publisher, printer or any indication as to the place of publication, and was described on the title page, not unjustly, as being "very useful to all such Gentlemen as are Lovers of Art." Another portrait of van de Venne was engaged by Daniel van Bremden, who did the plates for his book *Tafreel van de belachende Waerelt* (The Picture of the Laughing World). He painted himself as one of the figures on the Protestant bank of the river in "The Fishing for Souls" (Plate I.), his most famous work. There he appears as a distinguished figure, tall and slight, with a high forehead, fine eyes, a pointed beard and spreading moustache. His "Kermesse," in the Ryks Museum,[2] also contains a self-portrait.

Van de Venne's father, who was a bookseller by trade, gave him a good education. It began at Leyden, where he is said to have studied both science and the classics. He then worked for a while under the goldsmith Simon van der Vlack. He was taught painting by Jerome van Diest at the Hague. About the year 1607 he appears to have been in Antwerp. In 1614 he was married at Middleburg, where he worked till 1624 with his brother Jan, who followed their father's business, but who also painted a little, dealt in works of art, and published numerous copper-plate engravings after Adrien's designs. Thenceforth his name appears frequently in the archives of the Hague, where he resided till he died. In 1637 he was the Doyen of the painters' Guild there; and in 1656 he helped to found the Pictura Society.

[1] A copy may be found in the National Library of Ireland.

[2] Amsterdam State Museum, No. 2496.

Van de Venne owes almost all the fame he has secured outside the borders of his own country to the numerous engravers who reproduced his work. Among these were W. Akersloot, D. van Bremden, C. Kittensteyn, C. van Dalen, W. Delff, H. Hondius the elder, P. de Jode, A. & T. Matham, Jan Meyssens, Crispin de Passe, Crispin van den Queborn and Cornelieus Visscher.

His chief work as an illustrator was the wonderful series of designs which he prepared for the great collected edition of the poems of Jacob Cats. Van de Venne had much in common with that extraordinary genius. They must have known each other well, for they both were in the town of Middleburg between the years 1614 and 1620. As Austin Dobson has observed in his charming essay on "Vader Cats,"[1] poetry was with him no "trickling rill from Helicon," but rather "an inundation *à la mode du pays*—a flood in a flat land covering everything far and near." All the exuberance, the freedom, the gaiety, the grossness, the speculation, the adventure and the curiosity of the golden age of Holland, the seventeenth century, are exemplified in the pages of Cats. In van de Venne he found an ideal interpreter. For the very profusion of the poet's output appals the translator; but van de Venne, speaking for him in the universal language, has made him famous far beyond the range of his actual readers.

"Alle de Wercken" of Cats was first published in 1655 at Amsterdam, by Jan Jacobs Schipper, in one vast volume. The book passed quickly oversea. A copy of it was among the first art treasures of Sir Joshua Reynolds as a boy. Indeed, in a sense, we may call him a pupil of van de Venne; for many of those prentice sketches, "done by Joshua out of pure idleness," were done—even though it were second-hand—from van de Venne's spirited drawings. The book was very popular in England, on account rather of the illustrations than the original text. Copies of it, or of the slightly more

[1] *Side-Walk Studies* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1902), pp. 261, 276.

manageable later edition of 1770, in two volumes, published by Daniel van den Dalen and others at Amsterdam and Utrecht, are by no means scarce. An excellent example of the latter may be seen in the Fagin collection[1] in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

Many of the illustrations were cleverly reproduced in wood-cuts by John Leighton and R. Farlie for a translation of some of the "Moral Emblems" and proverbs of Jacob Cats made by Richard Pigot, and published in 1860 by Longmans, Green, Longman and Roberts, London.

I cannot do better than quote Austin Dobson's description of van de Venne's illustrations for Cats :—[2]

> What would one not give for such an illustrated copy of Shakespeare! In these pages of Jacob Cats we have the authentic Holland of the seventeenth century—its vanes and spires and steep-roofed houses; its gardens, with their geometric tulip-beds, their formally-clipped alleys and arches, their shining parallelograms of water. Here are its old-fashioned interiors, with the deep fireplaces and queer andirons, the huge fourposters, the prim portraits on the wall, the great brass-clamped coffers and carved *armoires* for the ruffs and starched collars and stiff farthingales of the women. In one picture you may see the careful housewife mournfully inspecting a moth-eaten garment which she has just taken from a chest that Wardour Street might envy; in another she is energetically cuffing the "foolish fat scullion," who has let the spotted Dalmatian coach-dog overturn the cauldron at the fire. Here an old crone, with her spectacles on, is cautiously probing the contents of the said cauldron with a fork; here the mistress of the house is peeling pears; here the plump and soft-hearted cheese-wife is entertaining an admirer. Outside there are pictures as vivid. Here are the clumsy, leather-topped coach, with its masked occupant and stumbling horses; the towed *trekshuit*, with its merry freight, sliding swiftly through the low-lying landscape; the windy mole, stretching seaward, with its blown and flaring beacon-fire. Here, again, in the street is the toy-shop, with its open front and store of inimic drums and halberds for the martial little burghers; here are the fruiteress, with her stall of grapes and melons, the rat-catcher with his string of trophies, the fowler and his clap-net, the furrier with his stock of skins.

[1] Reference Fag., L. 2, 11-12.

[2] *Side-Walk Studies*, pp. 270-271.

Van de Venne's name does not appear on the title-page of Cats' work nor on that of Pigot's translation. It is often missing from the illustrations themselves in the originals, and always from the reproductions by Leighton and Farlie which are described, simply, as "from prints found in the work." This may explain, to some extent, the general ignorance which persisted for so long about his paintings. It is only in recent years that research has been devoted to that side of his art. There is, to this moment, nothing that I know of written about him in English save brief references in such well-known books as Pilkington's[1] or Bryant's[2] Dictionaries of Painters. Neither compiler does him justice. Pilkington declares that "his subjects were generally of the lowest kind, copied from nature, without choice or variation." And that "his ideas were gross and his colouring unpleasant." Bryant errs in suggesting that he only took to painting in grisaille late in life. His master, Jerome van Diest, was a grisaille painter, and van de Venne worked in that fashion frequently all through his career. Bryant is also mistaken in stating that "some of his pictures are immense"; and Austin Dobson must have had this in his mind when he says that he is "noted especially for the prodigious canvases on which, like the Frenchman Lebrun, he depicted the battles of the seventeenth century."

Most of van de Venne's pictures are cabinet pieces of modest dimensions. His largest known work, by far, is the painting on canvas at Amsterdam of Prince Maurice and his cousins on horseback.[3] The figures in this are only half size: the height is about five feet six inches, the length about nine feet.

Van de Venne, however, had many different manners of painting. Dr. Bode has told us that his work has fre-

[1] *A Dictionary of Painters.* By the Rev. M. Pilkington, A.M. With additions by Henry Fuseli, R.A. (London, 1810).

[2] Bryant's *Dictionary of Painters and Gravers.* Edited by G. C. Williamson, Litt.D. George Bell & Sons. Vol. v., 8, p. 352. (London, 1915).

[3] State Museum, Amsterdam, No. 2489.

quently been ascribed to Brouwer.[1] Mr. Theodore Ward, of London, recently purchased a painting of the adoration of the Magi which, he tells me, was considered by several Dutch experts to be the work of one of Rembrandt's pupils. The signature of van de Venne appeared after cleaning. His best picture is generally admitted to be the "Celebration of the Truce of 1609 between the Dutch and Spanish" (Plate II), which hangs to-day in the Louvre.[2] Here the landscape background is unmistakably the work of Jan (Velvet) Breughel the Younger; but, though the work is fully signed by van de Venne, it was attributed to Pourbus as far back as 1710, at which date it hung in the Cabinet du Roi at Versailles. It figured under the same name in 1750 at the Exposition du Luxembourg. An even more famous, though not so lovely, painting, the "Fishing for Souls'[3] (Plate I), was catalogued as by Hendrick van Balen until N. Burger (T. Thoré) exposed the error in his *Musées de la Hollande*.[4]

Such mistakes will not occur often in future. For a study of van de Venne's authenticated works show him to have possessed a most distinctive style underlying all his manners and technical variations. His subjects are very diverse: portraits, interiors, street scenes, landscapes, and beggars occupied him principally. His pictures are sometimes brilliant in colour, sometimes with figures almost in monochrome against a brightly tinted background, sometimes in absolute grisaille. In certain works the paint is liquid and transparent; in others his impasto is solid and opaque. Large pictures are painted, now on wood (as is the "Fishing for Souls") and again, though less often, on canvas. Even his signatures vary greatly. The indefatigable Dr. Wurtzbach has reproduced specimens of six totally different main varieties.[5] As often as not he

[1] *Great Masters of Dutch and Flemish Painting.* W. Bode. Translated by Margaret L. Clarke. Duckworth & Co. London, 1909, p. 293. [2] *Musée National du Louvre. Catalogue des Peintres.* Par Louis Demonts, Paris, 1922. Vol. III., p. 113. No. 2601. This catalogue alters the old numeration of all the pictures in the Louvre. [3] State Museum, Amsterdam, No. 2486. See *Das Gemälde des Selenfishfangs* by Dr. G. Knuttel. The Hague, 1917. [4] Vol. i., p. 61. [5] *Niederländische Künstler Lexikon.* Von Dr. A. von Wurzbach. Vienna and Leipzig, 1910. Vol. ii., pp. 758-760.

neglected to sign his pictures at all. Of his twenty-one pictures in the Ryks Museum only twelve are signed. Occasionally it sufficed him simply to date a work.

Withal the learned and judicious critic should know a van de Venne when he sees one. For the man was a real artist; and so, painted in a way which is always his own, with a liveliness of touch and a curious combination of imagination and observance which is highly characteristic. The critic who bothers unduly about brushwork, texture and the like, may hesitate at times over van de Venne. But he who goes straight to the core of the matter, who tries at the outset to recapture from the picture something of its painter's spirit, can seldom go far wrong.

The five illustrations here given justify, I think, this contention. They represent works as different in style and subject as can possibly be selected. Yet they show that his pictures, translated into black and white and reduced to a uniform small scale, present an unmistakable family resemblance.

I have made a pretty diligent search for illustrations after van de Venne through all the art periodicals written in English and in French, and I have only succeeded in finding one. That appeared in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* in 1883, the twenty-fourth year of the magazine's existence.[1] Even this solitary specimen is not taken direct from a painting. It is merely a reproduction of one of the prints from the artist's own book, *Tafreel van de belachende Waerelt*, showing a Kermesse at the Hague. The text, an article on illustration, tells nothing about him.

Of the six works here reproduced, four, I believe, appear for the first time in printed form.

Plate I is taken from van de Venne's "Fishing for Souls," which hangs in the Ryks Museum.[2] It is an unusually large work of the artist's, measuring thirty-eight inches high by seventy-four inches wide, and is painted

[1] *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1883, vol. ii., p. 252.

[2] See Note 3, p. 238. Photographed by A. Braun. Reference in his Catalogue: No. 374. Amsterdam.

on an oak panel and dated "anno 1614," but not signed. Jan (Velvet) Breughel painted the landscape. The picture is a satirical allegory on the result of "the Twelve Years' Truce," which suspended the war with Spain in 1609 and contained a condition imposing religious tolerance. The artist, himself a strong adherent of the new faith, has depicted the dignitaries of the Catholic and Protestant Churches fishing for souls in the river of life. It is easy to see which way his sympathy lies. The Protestants, worthy and stately men, are having much the best haul. Converts of the most desirable type are netted with ease and comfort, and landed to their own high satisfaction. In the Catholic boats things are not going so well. Mitres and croziers are uncomfortable implements with which to go a-fishing, and neither the fishermen nor their scanty catch comport themselves in a becoming fashion. The Catholic bank of the river is sparsely populated in comparison with the other; and, though the Catholics do their best to make up for their lack of numbers with music and pageantry, the day is evidently with the Protestants, massed in sober majesty and countless thousands across the water. No one, no matter what his faith, can fail to smile at the delicious gaiety of the picture. It is an historical document, too, of prime importance; for it contains portraits of James I of England, Christopher IV of Denmark, Louis XIII of France, the Archduke Albert, his consort Isabella, Prince Maurice, Prince Frederick Henry, and, most interesting of all, the painter himself.

The next plate (II) is from van de Venne's masterpiece, "The Fete given by the Archduke on the conclusion of the truce of 1609." [1] Dr. Bredius has described it as "a picture of exquisite beauty." [2] This is also on an oak panel, measuring twenty-four and a half inches high by forty-four inches wide, and is signed "A. V. Venne fesit (*sic*) 1816." It was, therefore, done two years after the "Fishing for

[1] See Note 2, p 238. Photographed by A. Braun. Reference in Catalogue: No. 12601. [2] *Musée d'Amsterdam*, p. 158.

Photo. A. Blaun

Plate I—The Fishing for Souls.

Photo. A. Braun.

Plate II—The Peace of 1609.

Photo. A. Braun.

Plate III—"Wat maeck me al om gelt!"

Souls " and five before the truce was to conclude. It shows, when these dates are borne in mind, how thoroughly the artist must have savoured and appreciated the blessings of the peace. The landscape, in this instance, too, is by Breughel, though van de Venne could paint an accomplished landscape when he chose, as many of his other pictures prove. The colour is as sparkling and harmonious as it well could be. The Archduke is distinguished amid his lords by his black hat. Before him walks a dwarf in red, and a gentleman in blue escorting a lady in a sumptuous robe of white and gold. Love strides in front of all the happy throng attended by two doves; and Envy and Hate lie contorted in the brushwood.

Plate III is from a picture in the gallery of Budapest.[1] I have not seen it myself, nor can I find anywhere a full description; but it is evidently a very typical example of his satiric pieces, is painted on panel, probably in monochrome, and signed " Ad van de venne f. 1620." The title, " Wat maeck me al om gelt ! " (What would men not do for money !) is inscribed in a cartel, a frequent device of the artist's, and one which is peculiar to himself alone among Dutch painters. This plate is here included more for its bearing on Plate IV than for its own intrinsic merits.

Round Plate IV there hangs a tale. As it throws some light on the perennial problem of attribution and on constructive criticism at large, I venture to tell it in full.

The original picture was sold at auction by Messrs. Bennett & Son, of Dublin, on August 7, 1918. I had not time to attend their galleries on the view day, nor even to attend the sale till it was nearly concluded. It was Lot 733, described as a " Domestic Interior by Zorg." As I entered the room it was being handed about for inspection, and I was immediately struck by the excellence of the composition, the quality of its technique and the charm of its colour. It was knocked down to me for £5 10s., and I was a little disconcerted as well as pleased by the lowness

[1] Photographed by Braun. Reference in his Catalogue: No. 22594.

of the price. The Dublin art-dealers and the local collectors were mustered there in force, and I felt that even the exceeding dirtiness of the picture could not entirely explain their apathy. There are one or two of the minor Dublin dealers who sometimes show a reprehensible spirit of competition when I bid in person for a picture. As Smee would say, "In a way, it's a sort of compliment"; and I feel honoured by their opinion of my judgment, though I would willingly avoid it. But on this occasion they were silent. When I asked one of them afterwards why they allowed me to acquire such a pleasant work so cheaply, he told me that they were afraid of it, as a picture of an exactly similar subject, bearing an undecipherable signature, had been sold in Dublin some time before, and they had fancied my picture might be merely a copy.

That fear never troubled me, for the work was beyond all question original. The paint was laid in rapid, fluid touches, impossible to a copyist, so thinly that in places the original pencilled drawing could be seen through the glazing of the shadows; and—proof indisputable of its originality—this drawing, in the arrangement of the lady's fingers and the floor-clout, was materially altered in the final process of painting. It is beyond the means of words to explain the significance of spontaneity in painting, though it is a thing which the least observant eye can be taught quickly to appreciate.

The attribution to Sorgh did not seem plausible, so the picture was sent to a competent London cleaner in hope that he might manage, when clearing away some patches of chilled and discoloured varnish, to find a signature. It returned enormously improved, but without the slightest trace of its painter's name. "Zorg" was the only clue to its identity; but nothing which I had seen by Hendrik Martinsz Sorgh[1] resembled it in the least.

[1] According to Houbraken, Rokes was the family name of the painter, and Sorgh a mere nickname—notwithstanding the fact that he always used it himself. Zorg or Zorgh are both quite incorrect.

It measures eighteen inches by twenty-four and three-quarters, and is painted on a thin panel, apparently of oak, daubed black on the back. The top inch and a half is a clever old restoration where the original panel had been broken away. The general tone of the whole is a light golden brown. The canopy of the bed is olive green; the lady's dress dark blue-grey, with an oyster-grey braiding; her stockings are pale pink; the wings of the little mirror on the wall and the two tables are of darker pink; and the insertion in the man's breeches above the knee of pink darker still. His suit is warm brown and his apron blue green. The tiles of the fireplace are red, and the goblet which stands on them is silver. The cartel is inscribed "Mans-Verdriet," which means "Man's Woe."

I showed it to two great judges of painting whose names are known to all students of art. However, as neither professes to be an expert on Dutch art, it would not be fair to disclose their names here. Both agreed without hesitation that it was an original painting; but whereas one was inclined to class it as an early work of Jan Molenaer, the other claimed it for Anthonie Palamedez. The first attribution seemed slightly more plausible than the second; though I could find no evidence whatever to convince me of the truth of either.

For three years the picture hung before me, a pleasure not unmixed with exasperation. The more I looked at it, the more I felt that it was no chance production of a nameless or forgotten artist. Then I went to France on a short holiday, and forgot it for a while.

When wandering about the long gallery of the Louvre I noticed on the dark north wall the picture by van de Venne represented in Plate II, and turned again to admire it. I had not seen it since the year 1913, and yet seemed to remember it better than many older and closer favourites. It wore an amazingly familiar air, and I was sure that I had seen no other work by van de Venne in the interval. It began to worry me, and I took a taxi straight

from the Louvre to the famous photograph shop of Adolphe Braun in the Rue Louis-le-Grand. There I asked to be shown whatever prints they had after the works of van de Venne. Almost the first put into my hand was that of the Budapest picture (Plate III). The mystery was solved! In some strange way the picture of the Fête of 1609 had reminded me of my own forgotten and very different picture, which I now realised was by the artist who painted the other two. I found many more photographs in Monsieur Braun's portfolios which confirmed this discovery, notably that of "The Five Senses," a grisaille, in the Six collection at Amsterdam.

On the way back to Dublin I went to the British Museum to make searches among the prints of Marco Ricci and Benedetto Castiglione for properties and details which I was trying to trace from various pictures by those masters. I was lucky in these searches, and shortly before closing time was talking to the Keeper, Mr. Campbell Dodgson, who was interested in my finds, when it occurred to me that I had still time to look through the prints and drawings by and after van de Venne. I showed Mr. Dodgson a photograph of my picture, and said that, to crown my luck, I hoped to find that his Print-room contained an engraving of the subject. He laughed at me, and told me that I had more than enough luck for one afternoon, that the chances were that the picture had never been engraved, and that, even if it had, the British Museum was more likely than not to be without an example. All of which I thoroughly realised. But within five minutes I found, in a little packet labelled "Illustrations by A. van de Venne to poems by Jacob Cats," the print illustrated in Plate V.

It is, as can be seen, a small, coarse copper engraving—it measures four inches by five—and reproduces the picture with such variations as would be made by a hasty engraver anxious to adapt the subject to his particular art. The bed and the table are quite differently placed; but

most of the accessories are identical: the window, the two little brushes and the mirror on the wall, the watercroft, the chamber-pot, the goblet, the bucket, and the sweeping-brush are all in both versions. The figures in reverse show that the engraving was done direct from the picture and reversed in the process of printing. The cartel with its legend " Mans verdriet ! " is missing in the print. The B probably stands for the engraver Daniel van Bremden, but may be some printer's proof or cancel mark.

More luck was in store for me before I left London. In the marvellous collection of photographs of paintings, hundreds of thousands of them, which compose the famous library of Sir Robert Witt, to which he generously welcomes all sincere students of art, I found a photograph of a spirited, sketchy little picture by van de Venne, signed in full, showing several figures gathered round the same hearth before the same curtain as appears in my picture with, in their midst, a lady in pose and costume similar to mine, though with a very different expression. This picture forms part of the collection of Mr. Theodore Ward.

Arrived back in Dublin, I went at once to Trinity College to search for Daniel van Bremden's print in the two vast tomes which contain the poems of Jacob Cats. It was not there, though there were other prints after van de Venne closely suggesting the same subject. One of these illustrates the book with the cheerful title, "Dood Kiste voor de Levendige " (Coffins for the Living),[1] and shows a lady, with her knees apart, toasting her shins at a great fire in a tiled grate. It is signed " A. V. Venne fec." Another shows a similar figure in a similar pose, with a fire tongs by her side and underneath a legend in Spanish, French, Latin and Dutch to the effect that " A fire or love never says 'get to your work.' " This illustrates the book *Ferlicke Vryagie*,[2] and, though unsigned, is obviously after van de Venne.

[1] Alle de Wereken. 1700 ed. Vol. I., p. 466.
[2] Alle de Wereken. 1700 ed. Vol. II., p. 502.

The British Museum authorities are so accurate in their references that I was now completely at sea in my efforts to trace van Bremden's print till I remembered that van de Venne was himself a satirical poet of repute, and had illustrated some of his own writings. I advertised for his books, *Zeevsche Nachtegael*,[1] *Zinnevonk op den Hollantschen Turf*,[2] and *Tafereel van de belachende Waerelt*.[3] But months passed, and I got no reply. Then, one day while sitting in the office of my friend Dr. Richard Best, of the National Library, I picked up from his desk one of the book catalogues of De Vries of Amsterdam. In it, unexpectedly, under the heading "Belles Lettres," I noticed an entry of *Tafereel van de belachende Waerelt*. The catalogue was some months old, and Mr. Best was rather doubtful of my chance of getting the book. But with his usual kindness he wrote at once to De Vries; and in a few days, for the sum of £3, I had the precious volume, a first edition in its original binding, from the library of Vincent van Gogh and bearing his book-plate. In it, among eleven other fascinating prints, I found the missing one. The absence of the cartel was explained; for it illustrated a section of the poem, entitled: "Wijfs-ghebiedt is Mansverdriet" (Woman's rule is Man's woe). This print, though identical in every other respect with the British Museum example, was not marked B.

There remained one other point to be cleared up: the whereabouts of the supposed original of which the dealer had spoken. My enquiries proved fruitless till I met my friend Mr. James Murnaghan, that prince of Dublin collectors, and telling him of my search was brought to see the missing work which forms part of his large and fascinating collection. It turned out to be a rather coarse copy of my picture, more solid and less subtle in handling, of the same dimensions and also on panel. But it is painted on a red ground and not, as mine is, on one of hard bril-

[1] Published 1623. [2] Published 1634. [3] Published 1635.

liant white. It bears traces of a signature "W B" or "W R," and of a seventeenth century, but otherwise undecipherable, date. It is unusual to find a copy of a Dutch picture of the period, especially with what appears to be a genuine signature. Yet it is not unlikely that the subject of van de Venne's picture had a particular appeal for some one who lived about that time and who, accordingly, commissioned a copy from a different artist.

Now, had I been able to recognise my van de Venne as such, at a first glance, I had missed a fascinating quest. I had, too, in all probability, missed the opportunity of acquiring the second example of his art which has lately come into my possession, for I should have had no occasion to study his talent in all its phases.

A distinctive section of van de Venne's work is composed of what German critics call his *Bettler-figuren*—Beggar-pieces. These are small panels depicting old vagabonds, sometimes singly, but generally in pairs. The figures are invariably represented in motion, and painted in a simple scale of colour, often in pure monochrome. One of the best examples of a monochrome painting of the sort is the picture, "Ellend soerkt de Doot" (Misery seeks Death), in the possession of Mr. A. G. H. Ward, of Hampstead, here reproduced for the first time (Plate VI).

Plate VII reproduces another picture of the Beggar series, one which I recently bought for a reasonable price from a dealer, who nevertheless ascribed it to Ostade. The two old people represented are familiar to all students of van de Venne's work. They stand on barrels in the street and sing ballads to an assembled group in a print signed "A.V.V.," illustrating Cats' book *Liefdes Vossevel.*[1] They also appear, flaunting along, in a picture entitled "Arme Weelde" (Proud Poverty), sold at auction by A. Kende, on April 23rd, 1917, at Vienna.[2] They may be found, singing from broadsheets, in another work, *Amor*

[1] Alle de Wereken. 1700 ed. Vol. I., p. 262.

[2] Catalogue No. 1336. Illustrated thereunder.

Forckeliet (The Ballad of Love), now in the Stroganoff Collection at Rome[1] and formerly in the Meazza Collection at Milan. They appear once more in the Cremer Collection at Dortmund.[2] Each of these pictures represents them in different attitudes, and each is a painting on panel, about fifteen inches high by ten inches wide.

My example is on panel, seventeen inches by thirteen and three-quarters. Here, too, the attitudes are entirely different from those in the similar pictures. The work, as I bought it, had suffered the recent loss of a piece, an inch wide, from the right hand side, but I was able to recover this later. The paint was so hard that it had not chipped at the line of cleavage, and it is almost impossible now to tell where the panel has been repaired. The two figures are painted in a golden brown, the faces alone showing another colour. When I found the picture the background was also brown, darker and in a single flat tint ; but so out of tone with the rest of the picture that I was quite convinced that it had been repainted. I got an expert to remove this, at the risk of finding nothing but the bare panel below. But I was rewarded with a charming little landscape in delicate greens, backed by a fine sky, touched with light blue and rosy pink, which gave perfect value to the figures. It would appear as if some previous owner, startled by its brilliancy, had effaced it with something which he thought was more suitable to the dignity of an old master.

I fear that I have dilated at excessive length on my own two examples of van de Venne's work. The strict critical student of painting will naturally object to the discussion of any matter extraneous to the technical or aesthetic content of a picture. Yet, I believe that the average picture-lover will never demur to a recital which adds the pleasures of association to a work of art, while taking nothing from its own intrinsic merits. THOMAS BODKIN.

[1] Photographed by Danesi, Rome. [2] Catalogue No. 59.

Plate IV—"Mans Verdriet."

Plate V—From the print by Daniel Van Bremden after Adrien van de Venne.

Plate VI.—"Ellend soerkt de Doot."

Plate VII.

THE NEW SECONDARY PROGRAMMES IN IRELAND

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II—The Teaching of History[1]

THE bonds which hampered the full educational use of History in Irish schools are at last broken. Complete exercise of liberty and of energy in this field will take some little time: powers that have by long constriction become partially atrophied do not all at once, when restraints are removed, reach a plenitude of activity and of self-control. The work of the Dáil Commission on Secondary Curricula was wisely limited to pointing the way for schools and teachers to follow: the details of the task are rather for the educators themselves. Nothing is more needed than the exercise of their own preferences by Irish schools: they have for over forty years been content to have their detailed programmes fixed for them, without consultation, by Boards and by Boards' officials, and to have these programmes, in turn, delimited by examiners. When this order of procedure is exactly reversed, when Boards and Examiners have to work on the reasonable decisions of schools, the right road will have been reached. Mere alteration of courses, mere readjustment of values, is by no means sufficient.

What is needed is a radical reconsideration of the whole substance and matter of history, for effective use

[1] For Part I. "Classical Studies," see issue of last December.

in general and in industrial education : the use of wide liberty of choice in such matter, by schools and teachers : the development of methods of teaching which will be both intellectually and morally more effective than those at present applied in Ireland.

What has been the staple form of work in our history classes ? Substantially, the matter treated has been almost entirely political. Wars and rumours of wars; the military details of war ; statesmen and their policies ; parties and party strife, elections and coalitions ; intra-national and inter-national rubs and blows—such have always been the topics dealt with by both teachers and examiners. No one would deny their reasonable values, their influence on human life and thought, the lessons to be derived from them ; but the exclusive store set by these rather limited values, influences, lessons has seriously falsified a most important and most human subject of education, a subject efficient, when properly handled, in all grades and types of education. In the reaction that followed the Napoleonic Wars, there was a great outcry against " drum and trumpet history " : the outcry led only to the replacement of wars by party politics. During the anti-militarist period (1895 to 1910) in the history of official education in France, severe limits were fixed to the use, for class instruction, of even the great campaigns of Napoleon : teachers were limited to one campaign as a sample, and to one battle, within that campaign, for detailed treatment. What replaced the study of spendid strategy and strenuous service in the field ? Semi-socialistic and irreligious pamphleteering under the disguise of text-books in history. The palace of Clio was just swept and garnished ; its last uses were more evil than the first.

The prevalent type of material, then, requires to have its proper and reasonable value and place assigned to it, bearing in mind that wars and politics are but a part, mostly a small part, of human life : and that even such

a part as they are, is often looked back on by even leading actors in it as a thing of little durable credit. More than one eminent modern statesman, in the writing of memoirs and reminiscences, has passed a severe judgment on " the cursed trade of politics." The reason is obvious : for like war, political action, often noble and dignified, is but too often the parade ground of the petty passions of men. History is the reasoned record of men living in societies : if it is to be adequate, it must develop and display all aspects of social life in their real measure of action and importance.

Most of these aspects, in the current school manuals of history, are thrust into obscure corners of chapters or appendices, or are relegated to an excluded area, deemed worthy of attention only by the specialist or the technical student. Thus a comprehensive survey of the actual social order and customs of the mass of the people in a country or region is the indispensable basis of true eduction through history. For one distinctive area in Ireland, the Monaghan country, this has recently been done with substantial success by Carolan Rushe : the lead so given can surely be followed. The conditions of economic life next requires clear but simple treatment at the school stage : economic life leads on to cultural activities, music, literature, popular education, artistic production, architecture, manufactures. All European tradition shows that the more really popular and local these cultural occupations are, the finer their quality : the debasement of popular culture came into the world with the Industrial Revolution in England and with the commercial exploitation of what had been the " fine arts " of human life.

Insistence on the popular aspects of culture is all important ; a purely exotic and extrinsic art, limited to a governing caste, is of no moment. What has recently been termed the " Georgian period " of " art " in Ireland is a striking example of such a nullity. On the other hand, whatever draws popular affection and esteem, be

it civic architecture as in Venice, or national achievements in painting as at Ghent and Bruges, or poetry and legend as in all lands, such should be the firmest fibres in the actual web of history to be set before the rising generation of a people as a basis for a knowledge and appreciation of national tradition. In Irish secondary education no place was ever found for this knowledge—surely the historical knowledge that is of high worth—save for a few years a quarter of a century ago, when some attention was for a while given to the social life and art of Celtic Ireland. But it was objected to by one small and influential group, as having for them no national or racial appeal, and by another group, as not being history at all; and these exponents of obscurantism prevailed. They usually did; and the convenient course was as usual taken: judgment was pronounced and executed before any defence could be made.

When history thus becomes the faithful reflex of the whole of the lives and thoughts of a people, it is clear that political and international relations, ideas, achievements will have their place in fair measure. At certain times and seasons these special aspects of human action are important, even dominant: they will then merit special attention. But often, and for long periods, they are in the background: more vital things, movements and ideas of incomparably greater worth are then as a rule developed. The Renaissance movement in Europe far transcends in durable value, as an element in history, the petty wars and intrigues of the multitudinous small states and regions of Italy, Germany, the Low Countries, wherein that great movement arose, developed, matured, and declined. The economic organisation, craft life, craft education of Central and Western Europe, in the Middle Ages and down to the French Revolution, are far better material for the teaching of history to all the people than the wars and trade jealousies that in part resulted from economic activities.

Even in the case of deliberate action by the modern State in the economic order, as happened in France under Colbert, and in the Switzerland, the Germany, the Denmark of yesterday, such action is valuable rather as a significant result of the conditions and ideas of the people than of coercive and masterful leadership. Such attempts to drive a people often fail, because the whole people have generally a better sense of the governing conditions of enterprise than the over-confident self-will of those who presume to direct popular action. In this way is to be explained the failure of all the attempts to educate for agriculture in Ireland within the last two hundred years. The schemes proposed had no true relation to dominant legal conditions affecting land and the tenure of land, and the security of the worker in its use : the wisdom of the people prevailed.

Even in the treatment of politics, wars, international adjustments, there is marked need of a change of emphasis as regards treatment, in the teaching of history. Hitherto the stress of the struggle called for most attention : it might almost be said that the writers of historical manuals had not got beyond that stage of intellectual evolution which is marked by delight in the merely dramatic—a rather childish stage. The consequences of wars and policies, affecting the lives and culture of peoples for several generations afterwards, are of far greater moment than the actual conflict or its actual dramatic conclusion. The social and economic results of the Cromwellian confiscations, enduring in full measure down to this day in Ireland, are a case in point : so too is the record of the economic and cultural condition of the Rhineland and of Western Germany in the century which followed the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War.

This tracing of results, in at least their leading ramifications, will afford much better intellectual exercise, and will give a fuller and deeper sense of human values, than the study of all the war policy of Richelieu, and all

the conflicting procedures of Tilly and Wallenstein. Self-glorification and group-glorification has always been the historical vice of the statesman and the general : it is time that, in Gruntvig's phrase, they should learn to really venerate the lives, the ideas, the ideals of the plain people of their countries. It is time, too, that the plain people themselves come to think well of their own lives and works and aims ; the due result of all this would be a marked alteration of emphasis in the teaching of history within the schools of the people.

Such an adjustment of historical values will have for us in Ireland the special attraction that it will most properly enhance the worth of our national achievements. To speak colloquially : we stand to win on the field of history when stress is laid on the contribution of peoples to the arts of peace, to artistic culture, to the services of ideals, to effort in the service of the human race and of its Creator. It will no longer be possible, when this recasting of moulds for history has been carried out, to sum up the past of the Celtic peoples by saying that they went forth to the wars and always fell. Even in the modern world, the contribution of Ireland to the principles of religious equality and tolerance in the seventeenth century, to the methods of political organisation and economic reform in the nineteenth, to the doctrine of resistance to imposed military servitude and service in the twentieth, have served and will serve as landmarks of human progress throughout Europe. So little is this known of in Ireland, that the values set abroad on important elements in modern Irish history are often a complete surprise, and a most gratifying one, to the educated Irish traveller. We have been tutorised by our anglicised manuals of Irish History, into the belief that the Irish clan system was the cause of our failure to cope with the onset of the Norsemen in the ninth and tenth centuries. The fact is that the clan system, with its vigorous local life and independent power of action, proved our salvation

in a crisis in which the centralised power of England, and even of the Frankish Empire, proved to be a marked weakness and a source of national disaster.

With such a restatement of durable values, we need have no fear of introducing into the study of history in Ireland manifold aspects of Continental History, corresponding to, or enriching, our own. A narrow nationalism in the teaching of history is its own worst enemy : it leads more often to a mean opinion of our own people and its story than to an excessive esteem for them. What does need to be eliminated from all teaching of history and economics, is the semi-savage sense of awe in the presence of mere masses of numbers and of quantities of material. On such a basis Yorkshire would eclipse Attica, and the United States would be judged to be of more worth in the human record than the lands of Spain. Some writers of very recent text-books of history for schools devote much space, much descriptive detail, to the swaying of the military lines in the war regions of France, North East and Middle East, from 1914 to 1918. Far more significant, far more valuable even in the merely human sense, is the steady eastward thrust given, not through four years, but through four centuries of years, by the Irish missionaries to that Pagan frontier line which once stood in these exact regions : they fought in a worthier war and on a more trying war-front.

That worthier form of warfare leads to a consideration of the part which religion should have in the school teaching of history in Ireland. In no department of our mental culture has the influence of anglicisation been more profound and more effective than in this : and the whole evil has been caused within the period since the death of O'Connell. Perhaps the most valuable pages in Mitchel's *Jail Journal* are his scornful analysis of the English mind in history, provoked by his perusal of Macaulay's essay on Bacon. The counter-criticism of

Macaulay's standards of valuation in history is most piercingly thorough, while the example taken for the exposition of Macaulay's judgments, the life and record of our Lord himself, is daringly yet effectively chosen and used. It is a characteristic feature of English historical thought, especially as expounded by the "manualists," that religious issues and activities are but a footnote, a marginal addition to history. When such issues become distressingly prominent, especially in dealing with other peoples, with the French in Acadia or with the Irish in Ireland, the normal English writer is upset, and complains peevishly of the intrusion of irrelevant issues and of the disturbing influences of what he calls a cross-current. As the English Church is conveniently "placed" by making it a department of the State, the English historian seeks to apply the same handy, if inaccurate, measure to the action of religion on the history of other lands.

Continental historians, Catholic alike and anti-Catholic, make no such mistake and indulge in no such silly game of historical make-believe. To them the Church and the question of religion are vital, fundamental, formidable facts, not to be called in question as to their importance, under no circumstances to be ignored, minimised, or passed by. We need, and need urgently, a large measure of this basic truth infused into the teaching of history in Ireland and into the preparation of text-books for use in schools. The teaching of history among us, even in Catholic schools, has gradually but markedly become secular in spirit and attitude. There is no greater falsehood than the view that history is a secular subject, to be avowed without any intrinsic relation to religious life, to beliefs, to the supernatural. Had we written in the Irish way, or in the European way, about the history of Ireland, this error would never have arisen. But the examination paper and the text-book have followed debased English standards, standards often still further

debased and materialised in the United States. In English history, since the definitive national decisions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, religion has been at the most a transient epiphenomenon. Acton, no Englishman in his attitude towards history, but rather a European mind, declared thirty years ago that the Church is by far the most important factor in human history. Our educators would do well to remember that plain truth. It was put in his own way by Napoleon, who when asked by his Ministers how Pope Pius VII should be dealt with in the negotiations of 1813–14, replied that he should be approached as if he were at the head of an army of 200,000 men. The figure is the more significant, as for the great campaign of 1814, *cette belle campagne de Napoléon redevenu le général Bonaparte*, the Emperor had less than 50,000 men capable of being put in the field.

It need hardly be pointed out that the influence of religion is not confined to its more formal, public, official aspects : to its many points of contact with great national issues : to its innumerable lines of influence in the acts of peace. With the change of emphasis on content in history teaching, outlined above, and much larger field than before must be accorded to the things of God. It would be an utter mistake to regard religion, as was too often the case during the Renaissance period, chiefly as a directive force in art and culture. It was that, and in a preponderant measure, in many centuries previous to the stupid nineteenth century. But it was also far more. Among the Irish people it was the chief daily influence in social life, in the formation of enduring ideas and ideals, in language and in literary expression. Stress laid on the actual lives of the real people, the real nation of Ireland, down the centuries since St. Patrick is stress laid on religion as the directive power over human life and conduct.

To make all this effective in the teaching of history

to the children of the Irish people, we need, and need soon, a history of the Spiritual Life of that people. Scarcely anything has been done for it, even for the spirituality of St. Patrick and his successors down to the outpouring of the Missionaries in the seventh century. We have nothing to compare with even the forerunners of such a masterly work as that of Henri Brémond on the Spiritual life of France, or the shorter but very adequate work on the history of Religion in France by Georges Goyau. On such work, both these distinguished Catholic writers have quite recently, and in close succession, entered the French Academy: they followed other distinctively religious writers, such as Baudrillart and de la Gorce. So strong has been the anglicised attitude of mind on these issues in Ireland, that many people, important in their own eyes as leaders in literature, appear to hold that literature and religion are terms mutually exclusive, and repugnant to each other. The Catholic spirit and the Catholic outlook, alone true and just, both most essential to truth and justice, and to historical completeness, must be integrally restored to the direction of historical studies and teaching as a department of Irish education. For a lead, we can confidently look away from England and turn towards Catholic France of to-day.

Necessary as are these alterations of content, value, scope and aim, they would not by themselves suffice to make history a fully effective subject in secondary, or in any form of general education. Questions of organisation and method also insist on being looked to. History has been hitherto treated rather as a "passive" subject, capable of affording work for the more superficial mental interests. Both in examinations and in teaching processes affecting history, there is far too much of receptivity, far too little of intellectual activity: and even where reasoning is used, it consists as a rule of that form which may be described as rather "assent to

reasoning" done by the teacher or by the writer of the text-book. In the old days, dates, names, places, battles, terms of treaties, in precise and set forms, were the staple of school history. This has been considerably altered; but there is no such radical improvement in the teaching of history as has occurred in the subjects of geography, mathematics, modern languages. Educationally it is better; but now what are learned are the views and theories of various schools of historians: the study of history has simply changed its matter for memory work, and has done no more. No doubt there has been—chiefly in England and in the United States—an attempt to imitate in history teaching, even at very early stages, the methods appropriate to historical research or to scientific investigation. The "source book" is an impossible source of history for the immature learner, just as the "laboratory method" is an educational fraud when imposed on beginners in the school study of sciences. Both processes, in their respective areas, may be serviceable adjuncts to the standard processes, demonstration and illustration; but it may be said that their value lies in their being used sparingly in the earlier years of instruction.

So, too, the text-book, readjusted in many ways, spiritual and material, must remain the standard means of historical instruction. But it imperatively requires to be transmuted into material for real mental exercise, by what may be described as the "method of critical discussion." Such critical exposition and discussion can be carried on both orally and in writing; it can lead to the use of books of reference, encyclopedias, atlases, for the investigation of specific topics. Hitherto history has lacked "exercises" calling for full intellectual work, such work as has been amply supplied in other subjects—in geography, chemistry, geometry. For instance, a student of the period of the Colonial Parliament in Ireland, 1695 to 1800, should, at the end of his spell of text-book work,

undertake a full criticism and exposition of the historical portion of Lord Clare's speech on the Union, 1800, and a valuation of its cogency as a practical argument addressed to his audience.

Towards the intellectual betterment of the teaching of history, more courage in deducing standards of conduct from the record of the past, more firmness of judgment on the moral worth of these events and actions in themselves will be of considerable assistance to schools and teachers. If impartiality means reluctance to state plain facts in plain terms, and avoidance of a moral evaluation of them, then the less of this spurious article the better. Eighty years ago John Mitchel stated his objection to this so-called impartiality, in a letter consequent on a review of his *Life of Hugh O'Neill*, published in *The Tablet*. "I am bound," he said, "as an historian, to state all the relevant facts fairly and in due proportion: having done so, I am entirely impartial, in the true sense, when I pass judgment on them, clear and uncompromising." The text-book writer who cultivates nice phrasal balancing leading to the avoidance of any definite moral decisions as between right and wrong, between the desirable and the undesirable, should be made to feel that this course no longer leads to literary or even commercial success in his work. The liberty of choice, of method, and of judgment on historical facts, which it is to be hoped that Catholic schools will vindicate as their right and put into effective use under the coming system, can with equal justice be claimed and reduced to practice by other groups of schools as well. But the teaching of history must, in Irish Catholic schools, be frankly and fully Catholic.

T. Corcoran.

THE GREEKS AND OURSELVES

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SINCE the study of Greek came to illumine Western Europe at the Renaissance, interest in the subject has undergone many vicissitudes according to the psychological trend of each particular age. At moments of deep and lasting unrest and struggle, some sort of classicism has always been much in vogue, as at the beginning of last century, when Europe was thrilled by Schiller's roseate and unreal paean to the Gods of Greece. On the other hand, when there was prosperity, contentment, and self-sufficiency, the study of classics declined. In the eighteenth century this was equivalent to a decline in education, as Gibbon's university experience bears witness. In the later nineteenth, education in general did not decline, but became one-sided, and the peculiar tendency to regard one's own time as a kind of historical culmination in which all perfection had either been attained or was shortly to come, grew more widespread than at perhaps any other period in history. In our days unrest and dissatisfaction have set in again, and we cast about for something to relieve our miseries; so we have revived or are reviving an interest in the classics.

But our motives nowadays are more conscious and clear; we do not necessarily want the classics as a "discipline," we do not believe that we can build up the morals of little boys by teaching them Latin grammar.

Our motive is largely one that would appeal greatly to the Greeks themselves: it is curiosity. We want to enquire how this great people, for whom we have heard so many vague claims made, really lived, what they were like as human beings, and what they achieved in their time upon earth, that we may compare them with ourselves. Such an interest as this is in many ways hard to exploit for academic purposes; it is a thing for middle-aged people, and the discipline that it brings is one requiring reflection more than memory. So it is that we have now being published, in England especially, a great number of excellent and illuminating books on classical subjects, intended for the general reader, and making a better attempt than has ever before been made to bring home the bare realities of a distant past to men who have themselves to live among realities.

It is always a salutary, though not often easily attainable, quality to be able to distinguish what part of our thoughts is really our own, and what part is simply a residue of half-forgotten opinions heard long ago. We are always striving in these days after originality, which may be a good or a bad thing in itself, but is certainly impossible unless we can tell the new from the old. It is from this point of view that the study of Greek in particular is now most important, because the Greeks were the most original thinkers who ever lived, and much of our own ordinary everyday thought is really Greek in origin, whether we know Greek or not. How often will you still hear the sophism of Protagoras, "man is the measure of all things," uttered by a person who believes himself extremely original to have thought of it! And it is not only in moral speculation, but in science, in literature, in politics that the Greek genius laid the foundation for all future time. That the great Greeks all died more than two thousand years ago matters little; we are still haunted by them and always shall be till our civilisation perishes; and it will be always of supreme

importance to us to distinguish their still active spirits from ourselves. It will be of importance for two reasons, because it will keep us from falling again into the fatal self-admiration of the Victorians, and it will help us to strike out on new lines of our own.

Until lately it used to be believed that the Greeks were a unique people in that they developed a high culture out of barbarism, an achievement never again performed unaided to the same degree. Now we know that Greek culture itself was a more brilliant renaissance of an earlier one, and that the Greeks themselves were never able to shake off their origins. What we know as Greek civilisation *par excellence* was the work of a peculiar political organism which took up and re-fashioned the life of a completely different older one, and which itself gave way in the end to a completely different new one. This political organism had its origin in a historico-geographical necessity; it flourished in full bloom for little more than two hundred years, but in that period it had worked out its promise and wrought its own decay. A great deal that we know as Greek falls either before or after this period, but it is for that reason not pure—it is of the renaissance or of the decline. The political milieu in which the Greek genius worked was that of the *polis*, the small, autonomous, self-sufficing city-state. Everything in Greek activity between 500 and 300 B.C. centres in the *polis*, and has its origin there; religion, art, literature, social organisation, all spring from the same source and are working to the same end.

The city-state apparently had its origin in the period of disorganisation which followed on the introduction of iron, but it did not reach its fullest expression till before 500 B.C. Its origin, in the simplest terms, was the necessity for self-preservation, but its peculiar development was bound up with the geographical character of Greece and with the social factor constantly brought into play by increasing population. We need not go back, as Maine

and de Coulanges did, to any such simple idea as the family to explain the phenomenon of the city-state; neither need we take refuge, as so many moderns do, in totemistic groups as origins for not only the city but for literature and art.[1] Group-consciousness may have been a factor in Late Stone Age Greece, but we cannot get close to it from behind the fifth-century *polis*. The origins of the latter were in the fact that the people could not exist in scattered groups in a lawless age, and were compelled to take refuge in a "citadel" on top of a hill. In these citadels industry gradually sprang up, population grew, and the power of the community came more and more to be exercised by the majority of the citizens. The perfection of the city-state was democracy—that democracy which Plato hated and Aristotle despised, but which was nevertheless the inevitable preliminary to the highest form of civic life possible in their time.

We know even less of the time when the city-state was growing than we do of the great prehistoric period. It was a most interesting time, when elements from the past and from the outside were being mingled with the native Greek genius. This took place especially in Ionia, where the remnants of the old pre-Homeric world met the East and the new stream of life from the North. So it is in Ionia that Greek philosophy and literature and science have their first beginnings; it is in Ionia that we hear first of political upheavals such as were afterwards constant all over Greece. It was once thought that the debt of Ionia to the East was very great, that she borrowed extensively from Babylon, from the Hittites, and from the Phoenicians. Now it has become fairly clear that though there were some borrowings, they were confined to material things, and the spirit that moved them was pure Greek. The Ionians brought to the obscure mass of native and foreign tradition, magic, and empirical lore something that was quite new in the history of the world

[1] Read essay on poetry by Mr. J. A. K. Thompson in his *Greeks and Barbarians*, or the writings of Miss J. E. Harrison, who drives this idea to its wildest extremes.

—self-conscious reason, inspired by an all-embracing curiosity. This curiosity, the mainspring of their reason, was probably no special gift to a chosen race—it was due to the fact that they were a race of mariners, mixed of all sorts of different elements, with half a millennium of confused wanderings behind them, and therefore with no dead hieratic sanction upon their national traditions. The name they gave it is still in use as a name for our curiosity about the past—*Historie*, which to the Greek was not the activity of an old gentleman in a library, but the urbane and universal interest of a man of the world in everything under the sun.

Impelled by this great instinct which had taken ages to form within them, the Ionians revolutionised humanity. They began the restless inquiry into all things—the laws of nature, the past, and the peoples of the world, which has remained ever since the dominant activity of man's intelligence. Besides their passion for *Historie* they had also another revolutionary passion, the instinct of self-expression, which found satisfaction in a great body of poetry, based at first upon tradition, but gradually reaching through it to the individual—again because the individual in Ionia was more sharply divided from his fellows than ever before. Traditional poetry gave us Homer and the Homeridae, the self-expression of the individual gave us Sappho and Alcaeus, and the curiosity which made hearers and readers for these produced Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Xenophanes, the founders of philosophy and science. Later still it inspired Hecataeus and Herodotus, thus leading up to the calm inquiry of Thucydides, and the all-embracing quest that we call History. In other spheres than literature it awakened a new spirit of movement; the Ionic sculpture of the sixth century and the black-figure pottery which later found its home in Athens give us perhaps a better picture of the restless Ionian imagination than we get in any literature.

In Ionia these new tendencies were to some degree formless and inchoate ; they belong to a period of political decline, which brought Miletus and her sister-cities under Lydia and Persia before they had developed a full political life. Till 500 B.C. we may still regard Ionia as the centre of Greece. But during the century 600-500, the Greek mainland, after lying fallow for seven hundred years, began slowly to reach stability, and found for itself the political form essential to well-being. The little groups, gathered for self-defence round the hill citadel, had grown into the *polis*, with its close organisation, its self-sufficiency and its vigour. The lapse of time had made it seem to the inhabitants of a *polis* that there was a family relationship between them, and upon this fictitious relationship a powerfully active and tenacious social system came to be based. The government of the city-state was almost a communist one, and every activity of the individual was drawn more and more into its scope. Undoubtedly this political concentration played a great part in the development of that sense of form so characteristic of the Attic mind in all its expressions.

It was in Athens that the *polis* reached its highest perfection, and that was so because Athens took over and made her own so much from Ionia. In the sixth century, under Pisistratus and his sons, the developing city went to Ionia for its art and for many of its political ideas ; the language of its literature was Ionic, and it became a second home for Ionian philosophy. In particular it was the first state in Greece to adopt as a sort of canon the religious system of the Ionic Homer ; and this religious system in its Athenian form came to penetrate into every aspect of Athenian life. It has been best described as the worship of the city-state itself, under the form of the " goddess of Athens "—Athena. Round her were grouped the gods of Olympus ; and while the State was strong, its religion was a great system of public ceremonies, with no care beyond the family and the State. Art and

literature, the sculpture of Pheidias, the painting of Polygnotus, the dramas of Aeschylus and Sophocles, all were in greater or less degree directed to the glorification of the city, and all helped to produce the extraordinary fervour of patriotism to which Thucydides gave such noble expression in the funeral speech of Pericles.

In our modern days of individuality in effort and expression, with no guiding principle except the rule of the jungle, it is almost impossible to realise how much the Athenian existed for and was inspired by his city in the fifth century. The iron organisation of Sparta is known to everyone; in truth the other city-states were organised no less perfectly, and Athens was only supreme in the circumstance that she was the heiress of Ionia. A realization of such a state of society, in which the common weal was all and the individual nothing, is the most valuable lesson that we can learn from Greek history. Even in the highly individualised Socrates we see this devotion supreme; the words in which Plato makes him, in the speech for his defence, refuse to quit the post to which he felt himself assigned are perhaps the worthiest expression of a feeling which was fundamental in fifth-century Greek literature.

It may be said that this unique type of civilisation had little in common with our modern one, and is of as little interest to us as the civilisations of China and Peru. From one point of view this is true; yet our civilisation goes back in the germ to that of the city-state. Even in our Christianity we have much that was native Greek; the ascetic ideal, for example, though foreign to the city-state, was always present to the Greek mind. So with our political systems; though utterly different in appearance from those of the fifth century B.C., yet they are only a development thereof and are still subject to the same influences making for progress or decay. In politics more than anywhere else the Greeks made our world possible by introducing the force of personality. Their whole

organisation discounted the individual and was founded on the idea of common interest. Yet their history is crowded with striking and significant individuals, men of action and men of thought, whose achievements by degrees proved too great for their environment and slowly changed it. While Egypt in two thousand years produced only one vividly original ruler—Akhnaton—and while Persia never rose above the type of a stagnant Oriental monarchy, Greece in two hundred years had such men as Themistocles and Pericles, Brasidas and Epaminondas, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, each of whom in one way or another left the world a different world after him; and besides these we could count many more. In the domain of knowledge and learning the Greek genius created our division of the sciences and laid the foundation of most of them. In medicine, the school of Hippocrates began a tradition that has gone on unbroken till our own day; so much so that the oath imposed on his students remained in common use till a generation ago. The beginnings of geometry, mechanics, physics, engineering, chemistry were all made by the Greeks. They were unique as philosophers; a study of Greek metaphysical speculation, if it could be made from a strictly historical point of view, without reading Hegel into Plato or overlaying the Greek mind with modern emulations of it, would still be the best possible philosophical training. The new discovery that metaphysics must take some account of mathematics, which has been proclaimed by Lord Haldane and is exemplified by Bertrand Russell, would not have appeared strange to Plato, into whose school no one could come without a knowledge of geometry.

The constantly growing population and the organisation of independent cities not only led to the Hellenisation of the Mediterranean, but brought into being most of the social problems that confront us to-day. Labour troubles meet us in Ionia at the beginning of Greek history, and

the Greek industrial slave, as has been well pointed out by Eduard Meyer, was at once machinery and proletariat. The Greeks discussed the problem of equality, but turned their attention rather to equality of duty than equality of right. They lived in a harder world than ours, and though they never talked of the struggle for existence, yet it conditioned all their history. A study of the economic consequences of the great Peloponnesian War, for which there are plenty of materials, would be as instructive in its own way for the historian as the contemplation of present-day Europe. The city-state, itself a growth of necessity, was unable to survive twenty-seven years of violence against itself, and the fourth century is a picture of political and economic decay, with all the apparatus of fierce social struggles, new rich and new poor, extreme financial expedients, and shifting of populations that is so familiar to us now. We even find an essay on the financial policy of Athens, the *Poroi* of Xenophon, exerting an influence on public opinion not unlike that exerted by Mr. Keynes's *Economic Consequences of the Peace*. Finally, the same historical necessity that had created the city state was brought into play to destroy it slowly and substitute for it a system of territorial states which fulfilled the need for expansion and growth, but weakened the rare civilisation of Greece. In that system Hellenised Rome soon took the lead and transmitted to modern Europe the Greek framework, enlarged and made more lasting, but still in many ways the same.

The city-state had decayed through the reaction upon its close organisation of Greek restlessness and Greek curiosity; it was suited to foster the beginnings of a great culture, but too narrow for its maturity. In its decay the speculations of Anaxagoras and Socrates and the questionings of Euripides played as great a part as wars for trade or territory. The characteristic products of the *polis*—its religion, its poetry, its art—all

soon found that they had exhausted its possibilities and were being weakened by its narrowness. Towards the end of the fifth century Greek art and poetry became individualist, anarchic; even comedy lost its robust and jovial zest for publicity and became a thing of the parlour, tame and genteel, with no trace of its old religious buffoonery. Partly under stress of war, partly by the inevitable reactions of decay, the elements of the *polis* were splitting asunder. The old Greek curiosity, the gift of expression, the sense of order, remained; but now they began to work apart, to become specialised, to lose their common object and binding force. Their inspiration gone, they became largely barren. Only philosophy, the great anti-social idea of the contemplative life, remained vigorous and reached its greatest heights after the *polis* had begun to wane. The futile and platitudinous brilliance of Isocrates stands as perhaps the most characteristic product of the fourth century. Afterwards was to come a period in which specialisation was glorified and originality decried. The new monarchy provided a magnificent material organisation, the unique qualities of the Greek genius were still active as ever. But they worked without light and with no spiritual ideal, and though science and thought flourished more copiously in many ways under the Ptolemies and the Attalids, great literature was nearly altogether lacking; it was the university, the bane of literature, that this period gave to the world, the university whose business is to appraise and dissect but not to create.

Since the Greek city-state decayed, the world, though always in some degree living under its abiding influence, has never again had the same great fructifying inspiration to universal activity. The church of the middle ages kept civilisation together, but its sphere was too huge and its influence too one-sided to allow it to take the place of the *polis*. The city of God can never be the same as a city of men. The discovery of the Americas was too

transient to produce a lasting inspiration Only the Renaissance, with its new enthusiasm, coming as it did in an age of great political unrest, gave anything like the gift of Greece; and here again there was no single compelling object on which all activity could focus; science, art, and literature were revivified indeed but remained sporadic and uncontrolled. Decay came again very shortly, and it needed a fresh return to Greece and a fresh political upheaval at the end of the eighteenth century to restore activity to civilisation. The nineteenth century is in many ways a reproduction in large of the history of Greece. The impulse of Greek culture and of nationality that came in its beginning waned towards its end, and civilisation hardened and became stagnant, men's sense of beauty was perverted, their sense of order atrophied. The war of 1914-18 was the postponed end of half-a-century's misdeeds. But another revolution had begun before it came. There was a new return to Greek studies in the 'nineties, a return inspired, as we have seen, by something truly Greek—curiosity. It has already given the world a truer insight into what the Greeks really did than men ever had before.

It may never be possible to bring back again the main Greek inspiration of patriotism, but it is certain that if civilisation as we know it is to go on, it must go on Greek lines. We cannot imagine a world without Christianity; neither can the Hellenist imagine a world without Greek. Not of necessity the Greek language, which was only an instrument, but the Greek tradition, which has become as fundamental a part of civilised human nature as Christianity. The Greeks were the inventors of progress, of evolution in the cultural sense. Before them there was the lifeless mediocrity of an unmoving world, where one kingdom was like another, where all was old and there was no new. They gave the world its youth, and their qualities of mobility and ordered energy are the qualities that make civilisation. Whether it might have been

possible that the tradition of civilisation could come from elsewhere is now an unprofitable question. The Greeks made our world, and what they made we cannot destroy—or forget. We can only change, and in changing we must ever go back for guidance to the origin of the movement.

Our own country, Ireland, is faced in this and the next generation with the task of creating a civilisation that shall be its own and shall provide full opportunities for varied activity as the Greek city-state did. In order so to create, Ireland also must go back to the European fountain head. She must not only be Irish but European as well; and to return to the living European tradition, the surest way is through a knowledge of and sympathy for things Greek. It will not be necessary to force school-children to toil profitlessly for years over Greek irregular verbs. What will be needed is a readiness on the part of the educated to recognise that the world did not begin yesterday and that the same passions and ideals have been moving mankind since the Greeks began their history nearly three thousand years ago. It may be possible for us in Ireland also to develop for ourselves an object in the welfare of Ireland, to organise our wasted patriotism for the greater glory of the society in which we must live—to set up the agricultural nation as a new ideal round which our activities may all centre, as the Athenians set up for themselves their City-State. For this is the greatest lesson the Greeks have left behind them—that it is only in the service of a society that civilisation can prosper, and only with the inspiration of an ordered social life can we be, as the Athenians boasted themselves, "lovers of wisdom without extravagance and lovers of the beautiful without softness."

Michael Tierney.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS

XXII.—To a Harp

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, PH.D.

NUMBERS VIII. and IX. of this series celebrate the skill of a famous harper; the following is written in praise of a beautiful harp. The owner may have been Diarmaid, son of Donnchadh Mág Eochagáin, Lord of Cenél Fiachach, in Westmeath. Diarmaid, who died in 1392, succeeded his brother Fearghal in 1382. As the poet (see No. I.) died in 1387, the last quatrain, referring to the owner by his official title, would point to a date 1382 to 1387. Cnoc I Chosgair is no doubt the modern Knockycosker, in the barony of Moycashel (the ancient Cenél Fiachach), though the Four Masters write Cnoc I Chosgraigh.

The text is from A.IV.2 (R.I.A.); the first ten quatrains are also found in the O'Conor Don's Book, and as §10 has an appropriate *dúnadh*, it is evident that the original poem ended here. All the remaining quatrains except §20 have the requisite close, and are supplementary. In these the poet identifies the harp with famous instruments of ancient romance, recalling their names, for in old days musical instruments, weapons, etc., had proper names, as ships have now. Six quatrains were translated by the late Dr. Quiggin in his *Prolegomena*. For transcripts of the texts I have to thank Miss Eleanor Knott and Professor T. F. O'Rahilly.

Gofraidh Fionn O Dálaigh cct.

1. A chláirsioch Chnuic I Chosgair
chuirios súan ar síorrosgaibh,[1]
a nuallánach bhinn bhlasda,
ghrinn fhuaránach fhorasda.

2. A chlár buadha as bláith mínlearg,[2]
a mhonghárach mhéirfhírdhearg,[3]
a cheóladhach do chealg sinn,
a dhearg leómhanach láinbhinn.

3. A bhrégadh eóin a healta,
a fhionnfhuaradh aigionta,
a dhonn bhionnfhoclach bhallach,
lonn iongantach iodhlannach.

[1] shaorrosgaibh C. [2] finlearg C. [3] mear mhéirdearg C.

4. A leighios gach laoich ghonta,
a shógh brégtha banntrachta,
a eól[1] gnáthach ós goirmlinn,
a cheól[2] fáthach foghairbhinn.

5. A bháthadh[3] gacha croinn chiúil,
a chrann taitneamhach taidhiúir,[4]
a chomhnaidhi eidir chloinn gCoinn,
a chroinn donnbhuidhi dhíoghainn.

6. A aoinleannán na n-eólach,
a chorrach[5] bhláith bhinncheólach,
a rélta chorcra ós cionn síodh,
a mhionn ochta na n-airdríogh.

7. A sgatha binne boga,
a chláirsioch dhonn Diarmada,
a chruth gan fhúath ó fheadhain,[6]
a ghuth cúach a gcéiteamhain.

8. Ní chúala ceól mar do chronn,
tar éis Túaithi[7] Dé Danann;
a chraobh dhonnloghach dhata,
chaomh fhorbharach[8] allata.

9. A fhúaim trágha[9] ré toinn cciúin,
a chrann fosgadhghlan[10] fírchiúil,
fleadha 'gá n-ól it fhochair,
a ghlór eala ós fhionnshrothaibh.

10. A núall ban sídhe a Síth Lir,
's gan ceól do chor[11] at aighidh,
ód threóir as téidbhinn gach teach,
a chéidrinn cheóil na gcláirsioch.

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[1] ól C. [2] ghlór C. [3] bádhadh C. [4] taighiúir A. [5] chora C.
[6] fheaghain A. [7] re linn túatha C [8] formnadhach C. [9] trachta C.
[10] fosgadhach C. [11] gan ceol ag cur C.

11. Nó no as tú an Aisioch Fhalláin,
an Mhíonghlórach Mhanannáin,
ríoghna súarca ag tríall it theach,
do mhían do chúarta, a chláirsioch.

12. Nó as tú do bhí ag Aonghus Og
i mBrugh Bóinni na míonród—
cuirfidh[1] sé snaidhm ar eólach—
fa hé th'ainm an Ilcheólach.

13. O Mhanannán tar muir mall
cláirsioch mar thú fúair Fionnbharr—
nír féadadh snaidhm badh socra—
darbh ainm Brégadh Banntrachta.

14. Tú Ballchaomh Bhuadha Bhuidhbh Dheirg,
iomdha ball corcra id chaoimhleirg,
ballchaomh ód thochta gach teach,
a lannchraobh chorcra, a chláirsioch.

15. Féithchiúin Ilbhreic Easa Ruaidh,
cláirsioch chruthach cheóil fhionnfhuair,
ciúin do labhair ar gach leath,
samhail do chiúil, a chláirsioch.

16. Badh í an Téidbhinn th'ainm oile
ag mac Donnchaidh Dhormhaighi;
tug tú do thédaibh 'na theach
gur mhédaigh do chlú, a chláirsioch.

17. Do-bhéram ainm nua anosa
ort, a chláirsioch chéadnasa,
réidh ód chlú troimfhearg troda,
as tú Doinndearg Dhiarmada.

18. Ag Diarmait as dócha dhuit
bheith fa chlú, a chláirsioch orrdhruic;
ní haigionta tnúdh ré a theach,
ní múr caigiolta cláirsioch.

[1] cuirfi A.

19. A I Chonchobhair chathrach Coinn,
a mheic mheic I Mhaoil Eachloinn,
daoine sona ag tnûdh réd theach,
do mhûr as cora cláirsioch.

20. Adhmholadh Coluim Chille,
ní fhuil ceól as coimmbinne,
béraidh sé re seal nguidhi
mé go Teagh na Trochaire.

21. Aoghuiriocht Pheadair Phuirt Grég
lór liom ar chion dum choimhéd,
ar ar gcúl do chrann smachta,
thall i ndún na diadhachta.

22. Ar mhéid meadhrach a mhûir chuirr,
Mháig Eochagáin fhúair[1] urruim
biaidh cnoc lomnán ar gach leath
d'orghán a chrot 's a chláirsioch.
A chláirsioch.

[1] fuair A.

Translation.

1. O harp of Cnoc I Chosgair that bringest sleep to eyes long wakeful, thou of the sweet and delicate moan, pleasant, refreshing, grave.
5. O choice instrument of the smooth, gentle curve, thou that criest under red fingers, musician that hast enchanted us, red harp, high-souled,[1] perfect in melody.
3. Thou that lurest the bird from the flock, that coolest the heart, brown, sweet-speaking speckled one, fervent, wondrous, passionate.
4. Thou healer of every wounded warrior, charm that beguilest women, familiar guide over the dark water, music mystic and sweet.
5. Thou silencer of all instruments of music, shining, tuneful instrument, thou dweller among the Children of Conn, thou stout dark-yellow tree.
6. Thou favourite of the learned, restless smooth one, sweetly musical, red star over elfmounds, breast-jewel of the High Kings.
7. O sweet and gentle flowers! O brown harp of Diarmaid, O shape dear to every company, thou voice of the cuckoos in May.
8. I have heard of no music like thy structure after the Tuatha Dé Danann, O branch dark and fine, lovely, fair, ——,[2] glorious.
9. O sound of the beach against the gentle wave, shadowy tree of true melody, feasts are consumed beside thee, O voice of the swan on bright streams.

[1] Or perhaps "tawny," lit. "lion-like."

[2] *forbharach* is strange to me; the variant *formnadhach* may mean "broad-shouldered."

10. O cry of fairy women from the mound of Lear, no music can match thine; under thy guidance every house is sweet-stringed, thou pinnacle of harp-music.
11. Or else thou art the *Aiseach Fhalláin*,[1] Manannán's *Mionghlórach*,[2] gracious queens go to thy house to visit thee, O harp.
12. Or Aonghus had thee in Brugh na Bóinne, where the roads are smooth, it will perplex a scholar—the *Ilcheólach*[3] was thy name.
13. From Manannán over the calm sea Fionnbharr got a harp like thee—no safer bond[4] could be found—named *Brégadh Banntrachta*.[5]
14. Thou wast Bodhbh Dearg's magic *Ball-chaomh*.[6] many is the crimson spot in thy lovely curve, from thy coming every house is flecked with loveliness, O crimson plaited branch, O harp.
15. The *Féithchiúin*[7] of Ilbhreac of Assaroe, shapely harp of cooling melody, calmly it spoke on every side music like thine, O harp.
16. Thy other name will be the *Téid-bhinn*,[8] when the son of Donnchadh of Durrow has thee; such strings thou didst bring into his house that thy fame increased, O harp.
17. Now we shall give another name to thee, O self same harp; by thy fame battle's stern rage is stilled, thou art Diarmaid's *Doinndearg*.[9]
18. In Diarmaid's possession it is most likely that thou shouldst be famous, O noble harp; it were unnatural to be envious of his house, it is no castle where harps are hidden.
19. O'Conor of Conn's city! grandson of O'Melaghlin, happy men envy thy house, thy castle is a weir of harps.
20. The eulogy of Colum Cille, there is no music sweeter throughout, it will bring me at the time of prayer to the House of Mercy.
21. The shepherding of Peter of the Grecian Port I deem sufficient to keep me from sin, behind me thy restraining staff, yonder in the Fort of Divinity.
22. So great is the mirth in the smooth dwelling of Mageoghegan who won reverence, that there will be a bare hill on every side from the playing[10] of his harps.[11]

OSBORN BERGIN.

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[1] "Healthful Ease." [2] "Smooth-voiced." [3] "of many melodies." [4] or "easier problem." [5] "Beguiler of Ladies." [6] "Fair-freckled," or "Fair-limbed." [7] "calm and still." [8] "Sweet-stringed." [9] "Dark-red." [10] lit. "organ." [11] The text has the synonyms *cruit* and *cláirsioch*.

ARC-EN-CIEL

WHAT time God signed the primal covenant
Between the waters and the firmament,
He dipped His finger in the sunset glow,
And lo!
From sod to sod
Sprang rainbow's prism, through the drops aslant—
A smile of Heaven, earth-ward bent,
Across the tears of God.

M. S. JEROME.

LANGRES

ἄστρων κάτοιδα νυκτέρων ὁμήγυριν
καὶ τοὺς φέροντας χεῖμα καὶ θέρος βροτοῖς
λαμπροὺς δυνάστας ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι
ÆSCHYLUS: *Agam.* 4–6.

IN moods of weariness and pain
When petty cares have weigh'd us down,
How glad to travel o'er again
The ways that wander up and down
In days and lands lov'd long ago!

How glad to traverse peacefully,
Sans passport but the grace of God,
The far wide lands of memory
Erewhile in dust and heat we trod,
Grown dearer with the years that grow!

And most for me the little towns
That crest the hills and rule the plains,
And wear a wreath of towers for crowns,
High towers washt with suns and rains,
And watch the wheeling stars of heaven.

O Langres, from whose circling walls
Thy hillside, peaceful at all hours,
Far and far under gently falls
To moonwhite streams and grey church-towers
In wordless calm like soul new-shriven.

Thy churches full, thy vocal choirs,
Thy kindly, calm, homeloving folk,
Wise with the wisdom of their sires,
And choosing Christ's, not Mammon's yoke,
Fair, and beholding things most fair;

So standest thou above the years,
And so in moods of holiday
Thy gracious presence reappears;
As in that autumn far away
Thy rampart and thy stars are there.

H. E. G. ROPE.

WILLIAM CONNER

BY GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

PRECISELY a century has passed since the publication of a small pamphlet entitled *A Letter to the People of Ireland on the Disturbances of* 1822, the first public utterance of William Conner. The centenary of this, his first publication, is perhaps an opportune occasion on which to rescue Conner from some of the oblivion into which he has—in our opinion, unjustly—fallen. To have devoted the best part of one's manhood and the greater part of one's fortune to fighting the cause of a class not one's own, and to have been the pioneer in the advocacy of measures long afterwards adopted by the greatest agrarian reformers of modern times, must surely be allowed to constitute some slight title to remembrance, if not to gratitude.

William Conner was an illegitimate son of General Arthur Condorcet O'Connor, and a cousin of Fergus O'Connor, the Chartist. He resided at Inch, near Athy. In his younger days he must have been a man of considerable substance, as he boasts in one of the self-justifying passages so common in his later pamphlets that he received rent in three counties and had property in the funds, and that his wife had a pension that would make the mouths of some of his Tory neighbours water. In 1843, however, he lost the greater portion of his income owing to the dropping of a life; thenceforth he was reduced to a position of moderate, though comfortable, means. It is

to be recorded to his honour that he devoted a large portion of his income to the prosecution of a campaign to redress the injustices of the tenant class, and that he put into practice on his own estates the precepts which he recommended to others.

Although, as we have said, Conner's first pamphlet was published in 1822, he did not devote his attention to the subject which he afterwards made peculiarly his own until ten years later, his only literary production in the interval being a religious tract entitled *The Great Doctrines of Christianity Stated and Defended, being a Reply to the Charge lately delivered to the Clergy of the Province of Munster.* In 1832 he opened his campaign on behalf of the Irish tenants by the delivery of a speech on rackrents. This speech was afterwards published as a pamphlet, with the title *The Speech of William Conner Esq. against Rackrents, etc.; delivered at a Meeting at Inch in the Queen's County convened for the purpose of taking into consideration the Condition of the Farming and Labouring Classes and for Petitioning Parliament for a Bill for the Applotment or Valuation of land by a Sworn Jury.* In this speech Conner outlined his main notions on the land question from which he never subsequently departed except in points of detail. Having impressed on his audience that emancipation, reform, and other measures of a political character were delusive without agrarian legislation, he bitterly attacked the Irish landlords for refusing to make any reductions on the rents fixed at the period of high prices during the war. He then proceeded to define his own remedial programme, which aimed at the regulation of the relation of landlord and tenant by a public tribunal. He very properly insisted that the competition between the two parties to a tenancy agreement could not be free, owing to the fact that land was a commodity the supply of which could not be increased to meet an increased demand, and that the landlords were, therefore, monopolists. As Parliament had always

admitted the principle of regulating the price of monopolized articles, why then should it not regulate the price of land? But the mere regulation of rent would not in itself be sufficient; the tenant must also be secured in the possession of his means of livelihood, and safeguarded against the landlord's power of capricious eviction. In a word, the solution of the land question lay in the granting to the tenant of a valuation and a perpetuity—fair rent and fixity of tenure.

This speech was reprinted in 1835 with a long introduction, and published as a pamphlet entitled *The True Political Economy of Ireland; or Rackrent the one Great Cause of all her Evils, with its Remedy.* The main outline of Conner's programme may be gathered from the following extract from the Introduction:—

> It has been the great object of the following pages to demonstrate that the property of the industrious class—that which arises to them from their industry on the soil—cannot be protected from the encroachment of the landlord in any other way than by the State's abridging the landlord's power over the land, by taking all he can get as rent, by giving the tenant in all cases a fair valuation of his land. This would fully protect the tenant in the *amount* of the fruit of his labour. But in order that the tenant may have as great a *permanency* in his property as the landlord has in his (and I cannot see why he should not), it is indispensable that the State abridge the landlord's power over the lands of the country here also; either by preventing the landlords altogether from putting out a tenant except for non-payment of rent, or by the law fully recognising what in England is called the *tenant's right* and valuing that right at so many year's rent; which sum to be paid to the tenant by his landlord should he put him out at the expiration of his lease. So that, as nearly all the lands of this country are now occupied by tenants at will or on lease, this would effectually prevent landlords from evading the valuation law by taking fines or in any way harassing the tenants.

Conner stated his main principle to be that the labourer was entitled to the fruit of his labour, and that the law should protect his property just as much as it protected the landlord's property, "instead of permitting it as at

present to be drifted before the howling blast of the pitiless storm of a blind and reckless competition for land."

Five years later another pamphlet, *The Axe laid at the Root of Irish Oppression*, appeared, in which the same views were expressed. But Conner did not confine his advocacy of the tenants' case to the printed page; he also addressed numerous meetings. It was at one of these meetings of tenants held at Mountmellick in 1842 that his language was apparently thought too strong by the landowners, for he was prosecuted for sedition, and sentenced at Maryborough Sessions to six months' imprisonment, which he duly served. Conner may thus be said, if we except the numerous victims of the Whiteboy Acts, to have been the first Irishman to suffer imprisonment for his agrarian views. The speech, which to modern readers would appear guiltless of all extreme expressions, and calculated to restrain rather than to provoke violence, was published on Conner's release from jail, as a pamphlet with the title: *The Prosecuted Speech delivered in Proposing a Petition to Parliament in favour of a Valuation and a Perpetuity of his Farm to the Tenant, with an Introductory Address on the Nature and Spirit of Toryism*. The Introduction contains a bitter attack upon the landlord and Tory party, who had been responsible for his imprisonment, but the speech itself contains nothing that had not been said in Conner's previous published utterances. It concludes with a strong appeal for lawful and constitutional methods of agitation.

In 1843 the Devon Commission was appointed, and Conner lost no time in addressing an open letter to its chairman. This publication, *A Letter to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Devon on the Rackrent System*, reiterates the author's by this time well-known proposals; but the suggestion is made that the valuation should be made not by a sworn jury, but by a State official, and Griffith's valuation is indicated as a reliable basis for the assessment

of fair rents. Three years later Conner addressed two letters to *The Times* on the same subject. These letters were also published as a pamphlet, with a long introduction, which consists principally of a bitter and vehement invective against all the Irish politicians of the time. No one was spared in this universal holocaust, neither O'Connell nor the "nonsensical, bombastical and perfidious *Nation*." Conner's ire was aroused in particular by O'Connell's advocacy of "fixity of tenure" for the tenants. "In the glorious, lawyer-like ambiguity of this phrase," he complains, "his darling rackrents set all the assaults of reason and justice at defiance--a phrase in which no human being, even with all the powers of Lord Rosse's monster telescope, could discover a meaning." It is easy to understand, having read this introduction, why Conner was unpopular with the political leaders of the day; he seems to have been a crank of the first water and to have been most intolerant of the opinions of others, even of those whose ultimate aims were the same as his own. His denunciation of O'Connell in particular was doubtless caused by the latter's having expelled him from the Repeal Association in 1843 for recommending a strike against all rent until the claims of the tenants were adjusted.

But, apart from the light which they throw on the author's character, these later publications are of interest because they contain Conner's considered opinions on the general issue of private property in land. Conner had, of course, been accused by the landlord party of being a communist, but no accusation could have been more unfounded. He strongly insists on the necessity for private property in land: "Indeed, land becoming property is one of the first great steps in the progress of man from barbarism to civilisation; and in the full meridian of knowledge and in the brightest blaze of science there is no property more universally recognised or more freely acquiesced in than that of land." But

property in land, because of its very importance, must be regulated in the interests of the community; and the use of the institution distinguished from the abuse. No sane justification of private property in land could support the practices or the pretensions of the Irish landlords. This was clearly seen by Conner.

> If it be a just right of property in land [we read in one of his letters to *The Times*], through the undue competition for it, to extort beyond the fair value, why should not all other property be invested with the same right? Is it then a just right of property in land by the extortion of exorbitant rents, to steep the entire industry of the country in poverty—by the extirpation of tenants, to drive men into outrage, assassination and murder—and by these combined means utterly to destroy the peace and prosperity of the country? We hold it then for the most certain and undeniable of all propositions that no property can justly claim such gross wrongs as its legitimate rights; and we do moreover affirm that, if such cruel wrongs were *necessarily* connected with property in land, they would simply outlaw such property, rendering it indispensable to abolish it as an intolerable nuisance, as a deadly plague.

It is quite clear from these passages that Conner was no communist or land-nationalizer; on the contrary, he was such a convinced supporter of private property that the worst evil which he feared from its abuse was that its use would be questioned.

It was this strong belief in and respect for proprietary rights when justly founded and equitably exercised that distinguished Conner from his great contemporary land reformer, James Fintan Lalor. The strong difference of the opinions of the two men was publicly revealed at the famous meeting at Holycross in 1847, when Lalor enunciated the propositions on the agrarian question which have made his name a resounding one in the annals of his country. Unfortunately the candid and impartial observer of this historic encounter is driven to admit that neither of the protagonists behaved altogether creditably. While Conner was guilty of the intolerance and narrowness to which we have already referred as

incident to his character, Lalor must be convicted of a certain degree of petulance and shortness of temper equally unworthy of the occasion and of himself.

The story of what happened at Holycross is well known. Lalor and Michael Doheny had put forward certain propositions for the approval of the large meeting of tenants which they had convened, when Conner appeared in the audience and demanded to be heard. His speech was at first all that could be desired; he recalled the fact that he had been one of the pioneers of the agitation for agrarian reform, and that he had during the previous fifteen years addressed upwards of a hundred meetings on the subject. He then outlined his familiar theory that the landlords were monopolists of the commodity in which they dealt, and that a valuation and a perpetuity were the only measures calculated to redress the grievances of the tenantry. It was when he came to the actual wording of the resolutions before the meeting that he struck a note of discord, accusing them of being "dubious." At this point Lalor intervened, but Conner appealed to be allowed to continue his speech, on the ground that he was perfectly in order, as indeed he was. To this appeal Lalor replied that he might be in order, but that the meeting had something else to do than to listen to "long-winded harangues." A most unpleasent altercation then took place between the two men. Conner accused Lalor of having rack-rented his tenants, while Lalor accused Conner of being a "most dangerous man," who had been expelled from the Repeal Association, of perpetually making mischief, and of having come to Holycross with the special intention of creating division and dissension at the meeting. Conner, in reply to this attack, asserted that "tenant right" was a delusion, whereupon Lalor delivered another invective couched in the trenchant style of which he was a master, and the meeting finally broke up in disorder.

In 1850 Conner published two small pamphlets entitled

A Letter to the Tenantry containing an Exposition of the Rackrent System, and *A Cathecism of Valuation and Perpetuity of Tenure*. He also appeared at the Tenants' Conference in the same year, but did not take any prominent part in the proceedings. He does not appear to have spoken or written anything more on the agrarian question after that date.

One is tempted to inquire whether there was not some deeper ground for quarrel and disagreement between Conner and Lalor than the former's verbosity and the latter's petulance. A study of the respective utterances of the two men shows that there was such a ground in their fundamentally divergent conceptions of the rights of private property. As we have seen, Conner was essentially a reformer who clearly distinguished between the use and the abuse of an institution good in itself. Lalor, on the other hand, was a revolutionist who altogether denied any right of private property in land, and was on this subject the lineal ancestor and possibly the inspirer of Henry George. Lalor's extreme views were to some extent shrouded at the Holycross meeting by his demand for an immediate programme of reform which seems not to have differed, except verbally, from Conner's programme of a valuation and a perpetuity; but his more advanced views were clearly to be found in the introductory resolutions passed enthusiastically and without much consideration by his gathering of Tipperary farmers. The full import of these resolutions was not, however, lost to his more critical contemporaries: the *Freeman's Journal*, in a leading article on the day following the meeting, remarked that "the most extreme doctrines were put forward in the most guardedly legal language"; and John Mitchel characterised Lalor as a "revolutionary" who was interested in settling the tenure question merely as a preparatory step towards "going for the whole of his system."[1] Indeed a perusal of Lalor's letters to the *Felon*

[1] Fogarty: *James Fintan Lalor*, p. 126.

makes it clear that he denied all right of private property in land, and was a thoroughgoing land nationalizer. The following passage conclusively shows that the highest *status* which he was prepared to recognise in the landholder was that of a tenant of the State, without security of tenure :—

> When the independent families who form the natural population of a country compose and organise into a regular community, the imperfect compact or agreement by which each man holds his land must necessarily assume the more perfect shape of a positive and precise grant from the people. . . . That grant, and all other grants also, must of necessity, without any express words, reserve the general rights of the people, as first proprietors and lords paramount, and give nothing more than a right of use and occupancy ; and it must furthermore recognise to reserve in like measure the permanent right of the people to revise, alter, and amend the mode of settlement then made—and to modify or withdraw all grants made upon, or in pursuance of, that mode and condition of settlement. From whence it follows that, practically : Any condition of settlement established, and all grants made thereupon, may *at any time* thenceforth be questioned, reconsidered, revised, altered, or amended.[1]

The principles and aims of Conner and Lalor, therefore, were fundamentally divergent. It is interesting to inquire which of these two land reformers exerted the greater influence on the course of Irish agrarian history. Looking at the matter broadly, one is safe in saying that the progress of Irish land reform has been in the direction of attaching a greater rather than a diminished importance to the inviolability of landed property ; and, this being so, we must conclude that Conner's rather than Lalor's ideas must have been in the minds of later generations of agitators and statesmen. Conner's programme of a valuation and a perpetuity was adopted by the Tenants' League in 1850, was preached by Butt, and was the foundation of Gladstone's legislation. Conner may certainly be accorded the title of the father of the three F's.[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

[2] Errington : *The Irish Land Question*, 1880.

It may be suggested, however, that if Conner was the father of the three F's, Lalor was the father of land purchase. Such a suggestion ignores the fact that land purchase, as we know it, has proceeded on two principles, neither of which Lalor would have for a moment admitted. One was that the existing landlords should be compensated for their interests, and the other that the tenants should become absolute owners in fee of their holdings after a certain date. As to the former of these principles, Lalor would have indignantly repudiated the idea of paying a single penny to a class he never ceased to describe as robbers who could claim no right to their property from occupancy, conquest, prescription, or any other title: and as to the latter, he would have replied in the sense of the passage quoted above, to the effect that the paramount claims of the State as owner of all the land in the country could never be alienated.

Indeed, to say that Lalor was the father of land purchase is further from the truth than to say that land purchase has finally rendered impossible in Ireland the realisation of his ideals. The whole tendency of the land purchase movement has been in the direction of strengthening the rights of the private owner of land against the power of the State. No doubt Michael Davitt was a follower of Lalor and of Henry George, and would have preferred that the property of the Irish landowners should have been transferred to the State rather than to the occupying tenantry; but the actual course of Irish land purchase has not proceeded upon these lines, and has rendered the resuscitation of these ideas almost impossible for the future. This was clearly perceived by Dr. Moritz Bonn, that most acute observer of the Irish agrarian problem:

> The purchasers under the early Land Purchase Acts have cut the ground not only from under the prejudices of the English, but also from under the Irish agrarian socialists, represented by Michael Davitt, who wished to link on the new system of land tenure to

early Celtic institutions. For a moment the ideas of Henry George stood as watchwords of a policy directed against peasant proprietorship in the foreground of public interest. The politico-economic realism of Parnell's mind repressed them at the time; the success of land purchase in Ireland makes their survival for the next few decades improbable.[1]

It is curious that the reputations of Conner and Lalor, the two pioneer land reformers, should rank in inverse proportion to their actual influence. Lalor occupies a very large place in every account of the Irish political and agrarian movement, and in recent years no less than three collections of his writings have been republished. Conner, on the other hand, has been almost completely forgotten, and seems to have been an obscure figure, even to his contemporaries. It is true he had one great admirer, John Stuart Mill, who referred to him as "the earliest, most enthusiastic, and most indefatigable apostle"[2] of land reform; but this solitary tribute of praise stands in singular isolation. All that Gavan Duffy has to say of Conner is this: "He had sincere sympathy with the people, but it was not supplemented with adequate capacity and judgment, and he accomplished nothing."[3] Throughout the voluminous controversial literature which appeared in the seventies and eighties of last century the references to Conner are extremely rare and unappreciative, and his name was not even once mentioned in the whole course of the proceedings of the Bessborough Commission, whose recommendations, hailed as a masterpiece of wisdom and enlightenment at the time, were nothing more or less than the suggestions which Conner had put forward precisely half a century before.

GEORGE O'BRIEN.

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[1] *Modern Ireland and its Agrarian Problem*, p. 118; and see Dubois: *Contemporary Ireland*, p. 270 *n.*

[2] *The Irish Land Question*, p. 88.

[3] *League of North and South*, p. 50.

THE RAILWAY PROBLEM

BY EDWARD J. COYNE, S.J., M.A.

THE Report of Lord Justice O'Connor's Commission[1] may possess considerable merits, but its value is impaired by three serious defects. The problem to be solved is not set out or treated in an orderly and logical manner; two or three of the most vital points are left untouched; and no adequate solution of the constantly-recurring labour difficulties is offered. These defects are partly due to the unskilful construction of the terms of reference and partly to the failure of the Commissioners to make a proper investigation of the root causes of the Irish railway problem. On their own confession, they quickly came "to the conclusion that some change in the Irish Railway System was advisable," and they seem to have devoted more attention to determining the precise form of change that they would recommend than to examining the causes which made any change necessary. Yet the choice of the proper remedy postulates an accurate diagnosis of the disease.

Such a diagnosis might naturally begin with the question: Are the Irish railways fulfilling their proper function in the economic life of the country? A negative answer would lead to an enquiry into the causes of failure. A thorough understanding of the nature of these causes and their relative importance would reveal the broad outline of a scheme of reconstruction.

[1] Irish Railways: Report of Commission appointed by Provisional Government. Stationery Office. 1922. 1s. net.

There is almost complete agreement that the Irish railways are not fulfilling their economic function. It is true that this Commission, like its predecessors, declared that the railways, as private concerns, "have not been badly managed." All that this means, however, is that they have been able to earn a dividend. But the economic function of a railway is not to earn dividends; it is to carry passengers and goods about the country as cheaply as possible and as rapidly as is economically required. This function the Irish railways have not performed in the past and are not performing to-day.

The dominant fact of the whole situation is, undoubtedly, the great scarcity of traffic in Ireland. But given this fact, then the failure of the Irish railways may be attributed to two main causes, to two great defects in the present system. The first is that the persons who *own* and *control* the railways are not primarily or directly interested in securing that the railways perform their proper economic function; and the second is of a similar nature, that the persons who actually *work* the railways, the railway staff, are just as little directly concerned in this vital matter as the owners and directors. The interests of the owners and the interests of the workers are not only often mutually antagonistic, but both are antagonistic to the interests of the *users* of the railways; and naturally it is the users who suffer. The chief objects of the owners are to secure as big a dividend as they can and to maintain unimpaired certain vested interests. The workers, on the other hand, are mainly concerned with securing as high a rate of wages and as good conditions of service as possible. The users, finally, want themselves and their goods carried about the country as cheaply and as conveniently as can be managed. The satisfaction of this last want is the proper economic function of the railways.

We propose to consider briefly the important fact of the scarcity of traffic in Ireland, and then to examine the

evils which, given the existence of such a scarcity, must inevitably follow from the two defects in the railway system mentioned above. We shall find that the whole tendency of the present owners' policy must be towards high rates and an uneconomic service; and that as long as the railway workers have no share in the control nor any direct incentive to secure economic efficiency, so long will the performance of the economic function of the railways be a matter of indifference to them and, if secured, will be rather by accident than by design. We shall then outline a plan which, by putting the control of the railways into the hands of the *users* and *workers*, seems to give some promise of peace and efficiency on the railways.

The amount of railway traffic in Ireland, in passengers and goods, is comparatively small and very inelastic. These two characteristics are the natural result of the more or less stable economic conditions imposed on the country by the facts of geography and history. Being an island, thinly populated and mainly devoted to agriculture, with all its important centres of population situated on the coast and with its interior practically self-supporting as regards the necessaries of life, Ireland has none of the qualities of a great railway-using country. It has no well-developed extractive industries nor any large manufacturing districts where an industrial population might produce and consume a vast quantity of wealth, requiring transportation by railway. Consequently its railway traffic is not dense. The significance of this fact is to be found in the self-evident principle of railway economics that the less the number of units of traffic, the more each unit has to pay if a certain fixed total of gross receipts is to be obtained. If the number of units of traffic suddenly doubled, then each unit would be required to pay only about three-fifths of its former rate, on the assumption that the total net receipts are to remain the same. The working expenses and the interest charges of the Irish railways amount to a very considerable sum which

has to be paid by a very inconsiderable volume of traffic, with the result that each unit has to pay a high rate.

But Irish railway traffic is not only small in quantity; it is also very inelastic in its quality. The traffic on the Irish railways will not—and indeed, of its very nature, cannot—increase very rapidly, even though the freightage rates were drastically reduced. This is a fact lost sight of by those who believe that there exists a large potential traffic in Ireland waiting to be tapped by low rates and who prophesy that any immediate loss incurred by a reduction of rates would be quickly wiped out by the increased total revenue brought in by a larger volume of traffic. It is undoubtedly true that as a general rule low rates tend to produce an increase of traffic and high rates tend to prevent such an increase. But the extent and rapidity of the increase consequent on a lowering of price depends, in this as in every similar case, on the elasticity of the demand. To estimate the elasticity of the demand for any commodity is a difficult economic problem; but to estimate it for railway transport is especially difficult and complicated. But having studied the economic condition of Ireland from many points of view, we do not hesitate to affirm that even a very drastic all-round reduction in railway rates would not produce any appreciable increase in the volume of traffic for many years to come. And consequently, any such reduction in rates is impossible unless we are prepared to face a big annual deficit in the working of the railways. Agriculture is not an industry that readily and quickly responds to the stimulus of low railway rates; the sensitiveness of an industry to a change in transit rates is closely connected with its sensitiveness to the law of increasing (or diminishing) returns. The big manufacturing industries of the country, situated on the coast, are almost entirely independent of railway transport. The needs of the population are not likely to grow very rapidly while the population remains stationary and its

standard of life does not appreciably rise. The production of wealth in Ireland, when it does increase, will increase steadily and slowly rather than with sudden rapidity. Consequently, though we do not wish to make light of the urgent necessity of low railway rates, we consider it important to emphasise the consequences that must be faced in the event of an appreciable reduction of the rates. No privately-owned Irish railway can possibly reduce its rates as much as the industrial conditions of the country require, without finding itself in the bankruptcy court in a year or two. If the control of the railways is vested in some public body, then this body must realise that, if the rates are reduced, an annual loss of anything up to £1,000,000 and perhaps more will have to be met for the next ten, fifteen, or twenty years.

The scarcity and inelasticity of Irish railway traffic are important *causes* of the high railway rates and are not *effects* produced by these rates. Low railway rates will not be the *cause* of increased traffic, at the very most they will be a *conditio sine qua non*, a *removens prohibens*. Traffic will be produced by "improvements in the organisation and methods of agriculture and industry," by the development of whatever natural resources the country possesses, by good government, hard work, thrift, peace and prosperity—in a word, by anything that contributes to the general improvement of the economic health of the country. The most that can be asked of the railways is that they remove, as far as they can, any obstacle to such improvement by charging as low rates as possible for the service of transportation.

The scarcity of traffic is the most fundamental cause why the Irish railways, under private management, have failed and are failing to-day to fulfil their proper economic function. But closely connected with it are two other causes, which materially contribute to and intensify this effect—the high cost of working the railways and the necessity of earning as big a dividend as possible for the

shareholders. The working expenses of a railway are made up of two main items: the salaries and wages of the staff, and the cost of the materials required for the maintenance of the plant and for the running of the trains. The total expenditure of the Irish railways in 1912 was £2,841,955; in 1913, £3,071,338; in 1919, £7,607,534; in 1920, £9,718,465. These expenses are paid by the *users* of the railways—*and by no one else.* Each unit of traffic, passenger or goods, pays a certain share of the total working expenses. As we have seen above, the fewer the number of units the more each has to pay, so now we see that the greater the sum total of the working expenses the more each unit of traffic has to pay. Assuming (and in the case of Ireland the assumption is justified) that the number of units of traffic remains the same, then any increase in the working expenses can only be met by an increase in the rates paid by the users of the railways. Hence the only people who are really interested in keeping the working expenses as low as possible are the *users* of the railways. "The higher the working expenses the higher the rates" is a jingle that the public ought to keep in mind. Yet the *users* of the railways, the very people who pay the expenses, not only have no voice in deciding how far each item of expenditure is necessary or whether the sum total is excessive or not; but they are not even allowed to examine the accounts of the disbursements of their own money nor told, except in the most general terms, in what way that money is spent.

The chief end and object of a privately-owned railway is to earn a dividend on the money invested in it. It may happen that this end can only be attained by a policy of high rates. Certainly, under private control, the economic function of a railway will, if necessary, be always sacrificed to its financial function of earning a dividend. Thus, in the nature of things, the dividend-earning policy will always tend to increase rates as far as

the law of the land and economic conditions allow it. Now we contend that the people who should control the railways are those who would strive for low rates instead of high rates; for in no other way can you secure that the economic function of the railways shall be discharged. But it is not only in the matter of rates that privately-owned railways tend to be at fault: there is also the question of economic service and facilities. A private company will spend money where it sees a sure prospect of some direct or indirect return to its own advantage; it will not spend money merely to give some extra facility to the trade and industry of the country. Yet this latter should be the be-all and end-all of a railway.

Besides these two points, the working expenses and the earning of high dividends, there are two other matters in which the interests of the users are subordinated to the interests of the owners. These are the unification of the railways and the arrangement of services to meet, in the most efficient way, the economic needs of the country. The first is a matter that has obtained a secure hold on the popular imagination as a sure indication that something is wrong. Forty-six railway companies in a country of 32,000 sq. miles and 4,500,000 of people; and twenty-eight boards of directors controlling some 3,000 miles of railway line, almost one board to every hundred miles, are a sufficient *reductio ad absurdum* of the contention that there is much virtue in commercial management. Ireland ought to be a fortunate country, indeed, having about eight times the amount of commercial management that most other countries have. But the truth of the matter is that the chief virtue in a number of boards of directors consists in the fees and patronage which the members of these boards control. There is no economic justification for having more than one board of directors and one central executive for all the Irish railways.

The arrangement of passenger and goods services

ought to be determined by the commercial and industrial needs of the country. It is the old principle that he who pays the piper should call the tune. But the tune is called, in this case, by those whose chief interest is to secure a high dividend, and consequently they call that tune which will most advance their interest. Sometimes—frequently, indeed, in countries where there is plenty of traffic—the service of trains which earns the highest dividend happens to be the one that is best suited to the economic needs of the country. But there is no necessary connection between these two phenomena. In a country like Ireland where traffic is scarce and working expenses must be kept down, railway services ought to be based on a thorough knowledge of the actual needs of the community. Otherwise, wastage is certain to occur. But under private control it does not pay to make a scientific study of what would be the most economic service: the only criterion employed is the size of the surplus of gross receipts over expenditure.

So far we have seen that, while the existing scarcity of traffic continues, railway rates in Ireland must be high unless the railways are to be run at a loss. But we have examined certain reasons for suspecting that the working expenses (and hence the rates) might be kept lower than they are, and that the desire to earn a dividend is not the proper principle by which railway policy should be guided. We have, also, noticed the want of co-ordination and the absence of any scientific method of arranging a really economic railway service. These four defects, which are practically inseparable from a privately controlled railway, cause serious injury to Ireland, though in other countries, enjoying different economic conditions, they are almost completely counteracted and rendered harmless by certain advantages of commercial management.

We turn, now, to consider the second great cause of the failure of the Irish railways, the second great

economic defect in the system. It is that the 30,000 or so persons who actually *work* the railways have just as little direct interest in securing that the railways fulfil their proper economic function as have those who actually *own* and *control* them. The railway officials and workers are not primarily or immediately concerned whether the railways carry passengers and goods cheaply and efficiently or not. Why should they be? Apart from the very highest officials, they have no share in the control and management of the system; they are mere pawns in a game. Nor have they very much to lose or gain directly by any increased economic efficiency in railway working. The higher grades of officials look to receive promotion or a rise in salary by a sedulous devotion to the interests of the directors and shareholders—the earning of ever bigger dividends. The great bulk of the workers devote their attention to obtaining as large a share of the gross receipts as they think they are entitled to and to bettering, as far as they can, their conditions of service in the matter of hours and work. To achieve either of these objects they are willing to go on strike—injuring the shareholders, the public and themselves—in the hope, not of increasing the economic efficiency of the railways, but of improving their own position for the future. Human nature, of course, makes it inevitable that, as a general rule, the men will take a certain pride in doing their jobs efficiently; and conscience is, on the whole, an effective enough check on sheer wanton sabotage or ca' canny. But the main fact remains that the workers have no human interest in the system, such as springs from a sense of ownership and control, nor have they any adequate incentive to give of their best in brains, attention and industry. Any solution of the Irish railway problem must provide a remedy for this fundamental defect.

We propose, as will be seen later on, to give the workers a very large share in the actual control of the rail-

ways; to give them free access to the accounts and financial affairs of the railways; to allow them a voice in deciding all questions of policy and management; and finally to give them an adequate incentive to secure the efficient functioning of the railways. "There was a time when men believed that only a few persons, the supermen of that day, were capable of managing political government. That belief no longer survives. Its counterpart in the world of industry, the theory that the functions of owning and directing economic institutions must be performed by a few supermen, is equally false and equally doomed to disappear."[1] The country that has "the most democratic constitution in the world" ought not to be backward in bringing about the "democratic transformation of industry." The principle at least ought to be acknowledged as sound, though there may be divergent views as to the best means of giving it effect. One of many plans that might be suggested is briefly outlined below. Its chief objects are to ensure that the working expenses be kept as low as possible; that any surplus resulting from an increase of prosperity in the country, and so of traffic on the railways, will be devoted to making the railways still more economically efficient; and that a cessation of work or even discontent among the workers be made as remote as possible. Working expenses as small as possible, rates as low as possible, service as good as possible, workers as content as possible—these are four points to be looked for in an ideal railway system.

SUGGESTED SOLUTION.

We believe that any solution of the railway problem put forward should be the outcome of a firm faith in the future prosperity of Ireland In the absence of this faith we should not have the temerity, as we should not

[1]Dr. John A. Ryan: "The Democratic Transformation of Industry." (*Studies*, vol. ix, p. 396.)

see the necessity, to meddle with the railways at all. The next twenty or thirty years will be, in our opinion, a sort of "dead point" in the economic career of the country, a critical period in which, to a great extent, the future of the country will be settled for better or for worse. If we thought that it would be "for worse," we should suggest that the railways be left as they are. But we do think it will be "for better," and hence we consider that every effort should be made to ensure that the railways shall give the country every possible economic help to get it over the "dead point" of the next twenty or thirty years. After that period the prosperity of the country will in turn make the railways prosperous, and we may reasonably expect from a well-managed system a considerable revenue. We propose, as will be seen later on, to draw on that future revenue in order to get the railways out of their present financial difficulties.

We suggest, then, that a "Functional Council," to be known as the Railway Council, be set up by law as provided for in the Constitution and be given full control over the railways. This Council should consist of at least fifty members, who would be unpaid but would receive certain privileges as regards railway travelling. After the first couple of years the Council would not be required to meet more than once or twice a year to receive reports and settle any questions of general policy. The constitution of the Council should be governed by the principle that the people to control the railways are the chief *users* of the railways and the *workers* of the railways. Consequently the distribution of membership among the various interests concerned would be on some such lines as the following: Fifteen members should be elected by the railway staff (three by the "salaried" members of the staff, twelve by the "wages" members); twelve by the County Councils; three by the Corporations of Dublin, Cork and Limerick; four to represent live stock interests; four for agricultural interests;

three for manufacturing interests ; three for the Chambers of Commerce ; three to represent the Trades Unions, and three to be appointed by the Government. As soon as this Council has been constituted, a judicial commission should be appointed to determine the annual value of the various railways to their owners, having regard to all the circumstances of the case—past, present, and probable future developments. A just and equitable decision having been come to, the railways will be handed over, as far as control is concerned, to the Railway Council, which will pay to the owners in perpetuity the annual sum settled by the commission. Naturally, railway shares will remain negotiable and will very soon find their price-level on the money market : the only difference being that they will in future bear a *fixed* rate of interest. It would probably be necessary that the Government should guarantee the payment of this annual " rent " of the railways in the event of the Council failing to do so.

The Council should, then, elect a Standing Committee of itself to act as a Board of Directors. This Board would scarcely need to be larger than twelve members. Four should represent the " wages " staff ; the General Manager and the Secretary of the Central Executive should represent the " salaried " staff ; a chairman should be appointed by the Government. Of the other five members, at least one should be a representative of either Live Stock or Agricultural interests ; one a representative of either the Manufacturers or Commerce ; and one a representative of the Trades Unions. The remaining two would, presumably, be representatives of the ratepayers. This Standing Committee would take over the duties of the present Board of Directors, and its members would be suitably remunerated. While the Council ought not to be elected for less than five years, it might be advisable to appoint the Standing Committee first for two years and then to re-appoint or change it for the next three years. The Council should also, on the advice of its

Committee, appoint a Central Executive of five members and allow these officials to have a proper staff of assistants and clerks. This Executive would consist of a General Manager, a Secretary, an Accountant, a Traffic Manager, and a Chief Engineer. We have suggested above that though not on the Council, the General Manager and Secretary ought to represent the "salaried" staff on the Standing Committee: their presence there would be very useful. The Central Executive would have full charge of the maintenance and working of all the railways under the control of the Council.

Three very important inquiries should then be carried out by a carefully selected Special Committee, either wholly or partly composed of persons on the Railway Council. The first of these inquiries would be into the arrangement of the most economic railway service that could be devised. This might involve a prolonged study of the traffic statistics, in-coming and out-going, of every station in the country, of the rate-value of the traffic at various stations, and of its economic importance to the country. The inquiry might result in the closing down of a number of stations, the cutting off of a number of trains and the organisation of an auxiliary motor service in certain districts. A second inquiry would then have to be made into the size of staff required to work the railways under this reconstructed scheme of services, the conditions of work and hours, and the salaries and wages of the various grades. This inquiry would provide an estimate of the minimum expenditure required for salaries and wages. A third inquiry would be into the working expenses of the railways in the matter of materials for maintenance and operating. When the results of these three inquiries were before the Council, then, and not till then, should an inquiry be instituted with a view to reforming the classification of goods and the whole system of rates. It is useless to make this last inquiry until the necessary facts and figures are known.

It is time that we made some estimate of money involved in this whole matter. The average annual value of the Irish railways to their owners for the last twenty years may be put down as something under £1,700,000. The average annual value for the next twenty years cannot be anything like that figure. We are told that the railways at present are running at a loss of nearly £1,000,000 a year. The next few years, indeed the next twenty years, do not seem to contain any very bright prospects for Irish railway owners. If an impartial commission put the annual value at £1,000,000 for the future, it would probably be acting generously. Of course, without accurate figures and facts, the most that can be done is to make a reasoned guess. Supposing then that the rent of the railways (including compensation to former Directors) was fixed at £1,000,000 per annum, the Railway Council would be faced with the problem of cutting down working expenses and making such adjustments in the rates as would enable it to have a clear surplus of £1,000,000. In its first year of control it would hardly be possible to do this, and it would probably have a considerable deficit to meet. This should be met by the issue of Railway Bonds bearing a fixed interest and redeemable at par by the Council when, and only when, it desired. In the second year of control it is to be assumed that the working expenses would be as low as possible; if there was still a deficit, more bonds would have to be issued.

These annual deficits would be inevitable, as we presume that various rates have been considerably lowered in the general economic interests of the country. The only hope of securing a favourable balance would be in an increase of traffic and rigid economy in working expenses. It might happen that over £1,000,000 worth of bonds would have to be issued in the first year and perhaps the same in the second, and a considerable amount in the following few years. As soon as the annual

interest on these bonds reached £300,000 the rates should be increased, and a sum of money equivalent to the sum brought in by this increase (which is paid by the users of the railways) should be charged against an account known as the Railways Staff Fund. The rates should remain at the increased figure as long as the interest charges on the bonds remained £300,000; and if further issues of bonds are necessary, the rates must be again raised, and an annual sum equivalent to the increase of revenue due to this increase charged against the Railways Staff Fund.

This Railways Staff Fund will not come into existence until the railways are earning a surplus over and above the £1,000,000 rent that has to be paid to the owners. But these charges against it will be met some day and will act as an incentive to the railway staff to do all they can to put the railways on a sound economic basis, by increasing their efficiency, by cutting down working expenses, and (if they themselves like) by not filling up vacancies in their own ranks. When such vacancies occur, the staff should have a decisive voice as to whether it is necessary or not to fill up these places.

When eventually a year comes—as undoubtedly it will come—in which the Railway Council find that their gross receipts are sufficient to pay all working expenses, the rent of £1,000,000, and the interest charges on their bonds, and that there is still a surplus over, the question will arise about the disposal of this surplus. Of course, the first thing to be done is to redeem as many of the bonds as possible. Now if the surplus is under a determined sum (say, £100,000) and the working expenses bear a certain fixed ratio to the density of traffic, then we suggest that half the bonds so redeemed should be cancelled and that the other half—bearing only half their former rate of interest—should be put aside to form a Railways Staff Fund. If the working expenses do not bear the required ratio to the density of traffic, then all

the bonds should be cancelled. In the following year the surplus will, we may suppose, be greater than £100,000. In this case, too, bonds will be redeemed—half-cancelled and (if the working expenses are in the required ratio to traffic density) half, with the interest reduced to a half, put in the Fund. But in this case of a surplus over £100,000 the rates must be so reduced as to wipe out in the following year this surplus and the interest on the cancelled bonds. Consequently the surplus in the following year would be only half the interest on the bonds held by the Fund, and the process would commence again.

A time will come when at least half the total number of bonds issued would be cancelled, and half, or less than half, would form, with their accumulated interest, the Railways Staff Fund. Now bonds equivalent in value to the charges made against this Fund would have been cancelled each year, so that the Fund would not commence to grow till all these charges had been paid off. Assuming that they have been paid off and that there remains a surplus of Bonds belonging to the Fund, half the future surpluses of the railways will be devoted each year to redeeming these Bonds and the other half to reducing the rates. When all the Bonds have been redeemed, then the Fund will be distributed among the staff as an "efficiency dividend" on their salaries or wages. After that, always provided that the working expenses are in the required ratio to the density of traffic, each annual surplus will be distributed, half to lower rates and half as efficiency dividends to the staff.

E. J. Coyne

CHRONICLE

An International Enquiry concerning Nationalism

BY STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

"Among the problems with which to-day throughout the world the conscience of Catholics is faced there is none more serious than that of 'nationalism.'" This is the first sentence of the circular letter with which *Les Lettres*, one of the most living and enterprising of modern French Catholic reviews, opened in January last an enquiry on the subject of nationalism, with a view (to quote the letter again) "to examine its actual or probable influence on the thought and conduct of Catholics in the various states in which they form either the majority or an important minority of the population." The letter was sent to influential Catholics in various countries, among whom were theologians, philosophers, jurists, sociologists, historians, politicians, writers. They were asked: 1°. Their views on nationalism in general, its teaching (*contenu doctrinal*) with relation to Catholicism, its necessary or accidental connections with the principle of nationalities, which for more than a century has so much influenced European politics and notably the Treaties of Versailles, Saint Germain, etc. 2°. What they think of its religious and moral effects in their own country and of the particular form it takes there. The replies to this letter have been published month by month in *Les Lettres*. They are of the highest interest, and we propose to lay before the readers of *Studies* a brief résumé of the discussion.

We should like to reproduce *in extenso*, were that possible, the opening remarks with which the Editor of *Les Lettres* explains the spirit in which the enquiry is conducted. He first insists upon the perennial interest of the subject and its urgent actuality. He points out that the difficulty of discussing the subject is due to the constant irruption into the debate of unreasoning passion and partisanship. It is due also to the fact that the duty of every citizen to love and to defend his country, in other words patriotism, becomes inevitably involved in the discussion. In fact, in no country is there to be found a nationalism which does not claim to be simply patriotism in its prefect purity and integrity. Notwithstanding these difficulties the Editor considers the enquiry likely to produce good results. It may at least serve to expose the unreasonableness of extreme views on either side. And such extreme views undoubtedly exist among Catholics. On the one hand nationalism tends to be exalted into a religion; on the other it is held to be a dangerous foe to religion and to civilisation itself. The latter view was summed up in a sentence by the editor of a Belgian review, *La Revue Catholique des Idées et des Faits*—"Nationalism will be the next heresy condemned." The Editor places on record this surprising statement, but confesses his inability to understand it. With a view to throwing as much light as possible upon the question the views of Catholics belonging to widely different walks of life and to widely separated countries were solicited.

It may be useful to set down here what, in the present writer's view, is the correct distinction between the terms "nationality" and "nationalism." Nationality is the abstract term corresponding to nation as personality corresponds to person. It is the sum or complexus of characteristics which go to make it the nation that it is. Nationalism is the sense or consciousness of nationality expressing itself in a political form with more or less definite aims and aspirations. This said, the writer will confine himself to the rôle of reporter, and is not to be taken as endorsing any of the views here recorded.

The review gives the place of honour to the reply of Mgr. Julien, Bishop of Arras. It is a veritable treatise on the subject and very much to the point throughout. The Great War, his Lordship reminds us, left behind it two currents of ideas flowing in opposite directions—that of nationalism and that of internationalism. The former grew out of the intense reaction of subject peoples against anything which could stand in the way of their right to independence ; the latter out of the felt need of banding themselves together to defend their rights against powerful aggressors and of avoiding, if possible, another world catastrophe. This internationalism, crystallized in the League of Nations, is legitimate so long as it respects the rights of nations. But there has always been, at least since the French Revolution, an internationalism or cosmopolitanism which is hostile to the very existence of nations. From the clash between these two tendencies—nationalism and revolutionary internationalism—have sprung the excesses and exaggerations of both.

Nationalism has two aspects, its inward-facing and its outward-facing aspects, and these must be carefully distinguished. The one arises out of a people's attitude towards other peoples, and involves its assertion of its national independence and national rights as against outside aggression. The other seeks, or professes to seek, the intensification of the national being. Mgr. Julien deals first with the latter. He defines it as "a nation's more vivid and jealous consciousness of its moral personality in face of certain dangers." Certain elements go to make up this moral personality or, in other words, nationality—community of race, language, geographical milieu, historical conditions, and religion. These form the body and soul of a nation : the State is its brain. If the moral individuality which we call a nation could attain the ideal of all individual life—viz., a single religious faith, a single political faith, a single social faith—nationalism would flow peacefully and contentedly between its banks. It may be said that nationalism makes its appearance in an acute form only when any one of the above elements which compose nationality is in peril. In no country in our day does this perfect unity exist : there are different creeds, different political and social faiths, different languages, different racial origins, within the same nation.

Such being the case the rôle of the State is very difficult and delicate. It is exposed to two equally fatal perils. One is to stand aside and let the spirit of faction run riot, with anarchy as a result. The other is to

make itself the instrument of one faction with a view to crushing the rest. The State may be either a helpless onlooker or a partisan and tyrant.

Faced with such a situation what is nationalism to do? Is it to form itself into a faction which, because it cannot win by legitimate means, will have recourse to any means that offer? The Catholic Church has laid down the principles of solution. Integral nationality is a good thing, and whatever lessens it is an evil. But public order is a still greater boon, and to it all other good things ought to be subordinate. Therefore public order ought not to be disturbed in order to obtain an advantage which, however precious, holds a secondary position. After that, respect of the established power being safeguarded and violent means set aside, there remain the means compatible with the political constitution—viz., press campaigns, public meetings and manifestations, the object of which is to enlighten public opinion and force the hands of statesmen.

But what if the State fails in its purpose and ceases to fulfil its rôle? The question of revolt arises. On this subject the Bishop expresses himself as follows:—

Revolt against a power that is tyrannical or anarchic is sometimes permitted. The Church has foreseen the possibility, but is not inclined to sanction this exceptional means. It is not a prudent thing to have recourse to disorder in order to re-establish order. Violence, even in the service of a just cause, is a pernicious example. Bad causes can avail of it. And then the country which looks to force for its salvation is ever tossed between revolution and dictatorship. The nationalism that would achieve permanent results ought to begin by educating national opinion and sentiment.

Then the Bishop passes to the other aspect of nationalism and deals with it very fully. Only the barest outlines of his treatment of the matter can here be given. He first shows that a people can be a true nation though dependent on another. Nationality does not necessarily imply the absolute independence of peoples with regard to one another, but it does demand a measure of autonomy sufficient to prevent the nation's enslavement in essentials—viz., its rights, its religion, its language, its economic interests. A nation, however, is no more able to stand alone than is a person, and like a person it has its duties as well as its rights. Internationalism ignores these rights, though they are founded on a necessary and providential constitution of society. Exaggerated nationalism, on the other hand, ignores its duties. It ignores the rights of other nations and flouts international law. It may even go further and place its particular interests above the moral, the divine law. Hence Chauvinism, imperialism, with all their attendant evils. Hence, too, the divinisation of the State which knows no law but that of interest and policy and no principle but *l'égoisme sacré*. Such a nationalism forgets that Right is higher than peoples as it is higher than individual men, for God is behind the Right.

The next answer to be placed on record is that of Père Yves de la Brière, S.J., Professor in the *Institut Catholique* of Paris. He insists at

the outset on the distinction between nationalism and patriotism. The latter is a moral virtue which urges us to fulfil all the obligations which our country justly imposes on us and to give it all the proofs of love of which it is worthy. Nationalism is a political system which, in the conduct of the affairs of the State, has for its main aim the greatness and the interests of the nation as a nation. Then he shows that, though nationalism may engender imperialism, the two concepts are quite distinct. Again, though nationalism may, in furtherance of its aims, appeal to the principle of nationalities, the former often exists, even in an acute form, where there is no question of invoking this principle. In judging nationalism the principle of nationalities must be left entirely out of count.

Now, from the point of view of Catholic theology, the rule for judging nationalism correctly is reducible to a very clear principle. The political criterium of the supremacy of the national interests is legitimate or illegitimate according as it is understood and calculated in harmony or in discord with the fundamental obligations of natural and divine law.

Consequently the peril of nationalism is to attribute to national interest so absolute a value as to proclaim allowable and praiseworthy any proceeding, even if contrary to the law of God and of the Church, even if contrary to the clear and certain duty of conscience, under the pretext that such a proceeding would efficaciously help on the cause and the greatness of the country.

And he instances the assassinations of Erzberger and Rathenau.

Finally Père de la Brière is convinced that not only is there a sane and unobjectionable nationalism, but that there is no real incompatibility between the legitimate claims of the national interest and those of international duty.

Father C. C. Martindale, S.J.'s answer, thoughtful and original as it is, does not lend itself to a résumé. He dwells chiefly on the importance of reconciling particular nationalisms with international concord and co-operation.

The brief response of M. Jacques Chevalier, Professor in the University of Grenoble, suffers from lack of a clear distinction between nationalism and patriotism, the former being understood merely in the sense of attachment to one's nationality. He makes, however, this important remark : that between temporal nationalism and spiritual internationalism (that is, practically Catholicism) there need be no conflict, provided that Christ's precept of rendering to Caesar and to God their respective dues is observed. On the other hand, *temporal* internationalism in the present state of men's minds is little better than a chimera.

Mgr. Chollet, Archbishop of Cambrai, emphasizes at the outset the fact that many widely differing meanings are given to the word nationalism, with the result that men have appealed to it as justification of the highest heroism and the most odious violences. Again and again, for instance, it has been mixed up with religion, nay the two have been identified. At one time it is equivalent to patriotism, at another differs from it. " For does it not happen that citizens fight, in the name of

their nationalism, against their country ? " There is, as Mgr. Chollet observes, a like divergence in the judgments passed as to its moral value. You have on the one hand the verdict, above recorded, of the *Revue Catholique des Idées et des Faits* and that of M. René Johannet, according to whom the word nationality has done more damage than gunpowder and poisoned gas ; on the other hand the considered judgment of the great Italian jurist, Fr. Taparelli d'Azeglio, S.J.[1] who sees the triumph of nationality in Catholicism (" voit le triomphe de la nationalité dans le catholicisme ").

Is it possible, amid this confusion, to sift the true from the false ? Mgr. Chollet makes the attempt. At the root of nationalism is the sense of nationality—he calls it *le sentiment de la race*, but it is clear that he is using the word " race " for nationality as we have defined it above. To describe this sense of nationality he adopts, with one reserve, the following formula of Paul Bourget—" *être pour un peuple ne consiste pas à respirer, manger, boire* " . . . " *il n'est vraiment que s'il ne relève que de soi, s'il ne pense que pour soi, s'il sent sa route à soi, s'il pense ses idées à soi, s'il est indépendent au plein sens du mot.*" The reserve regards the second member of the formula, for to think *solely* for itself and its interests would be to cut itself off from humanity which is common to all nations and above them all. Otherwise, thinks the Archbishop, the formula embodies the legitimate aspirations of nationality.

" But," he goes on, " the most rightful desires cannot always be realised. There are historic bonds which cannot be broken without violation of acquired rights, without placing in jeopardy public peace and security. . . . Justice, peace, prudence are virtues or boons of a higher order . . . which bar the claims of certain races to a separate political constitution." He is thinking, as indeed he expressly gives us to understand, of the races which go to make up France—Provençals, Lorrainers, Flemings, Bretons, Basques, none of whom, the present writer maintains, possess any nationality properly so called other than French nationality. A Breton is as loyal a Frenchman as any Parisian.

The Archbishop deals next with various excesses and perversions of

[1] In note cxl (a veritable treatise) on Nationality, which first appeared separately in 1846, and was later incorporated in his great work *Saggio Teoretico di Diritto Naturale* (1st ed. 1857). The words quoted by Mgr. Chollet occur in an eloquent passage (pp. 530-1 of the French translation) inspired by the spectacle of Ireland in the throes of the famine, but suffering patiently and without recourse to violence. He has spoken of Europe's admiration, respect, veneration, and righteous indignation at what was happening in Ireland. He then continues :—" There you have the most sublime idea that history can show, there you have the triumph of nationality in Catholicism : it (nationality) may fail in its purpose, but it will not thereby be less great before that God in whom nations as well as individuals find true greatness and true happiness. If the ravages of famine end by delivering over to triumphant heresy the Island of Saints become the grave of martyrs, over that bloodstained land will arise the aureole of their greatness to say once more to Catholic nations in a new but not less heroic sense : the hero dies and does not surrender."

nationalism, for instance the pretension of nationalizing, or considering as peculiarly national, things which of their nature are universal—philosophy, science, religion itself. Again "nationalists whose aims are genuinely patriotic may pursue them by unjust and violent means. They violate the moral law; for the end cannot justify means in themselves unjust, and the more the end is noble the more just and legitimate should be the means by which it is sought to be attained."

"Nationalism is a legitimate and necessary force, but it is a dangerous one." When it goes wrong, it can be productive of the most serious evils. Catholicism is the best influence for keeping it on the right track. It upholds and consecrates patriotism and thereby nourishes nationalism. Religion is the great inspirer of the national idea.

Next in order is recorded the answer of the distinguished Dominican Père Gillet, Professor at the *Institut Catholique* of Paris. He calls to mind certain principles often forgotten in connection with the present subject. The main principle is that human *society in general*, *country* (la patrie) and *nation* are not artificial formations, but arise out of the natural order of things. The same is to be said of *social justice*, *patriotism*, and *nationalism* which correspond to the above three aspects of the same reality. Rightly understood, patriotism supplements and reinforces social justice, and nationalism does the same for patriotism, by unifying and rallying round the national patrimony all the creative energies of the Nation, by arousing a sort of collective consciousness, a common soul animating this great body. This he calls social, as opposed to political, nationalism. Such a nationalism, while accepting gladly co-operation between states, must necessarily combat anti-nationalism, and political internationlism, that humanitarianism which sacrifices the definite duties of social justice to vague feelings for humanity in general; but it must no less strenuously combat false nationalisms of various sorts—jealous and selfish isolation, the attempt to domineer over other peoples, or "the letting loose of civil wars for questions of race or language, form of government or even religion, things which form part of a nation's patrimony but do not entirely constitute it."

What of the relations between nationalism and Catholicism? "Let us, says Père Gillet, "recall the fact that as between the State and the Church there is question not of opposition but of subordination. The common good of the political society remains subordinate to the divine good of the religious society. The Church is neither national nor international: its universality is of a higher order and a different species." This latter point is developed at some length. He concludes by affirming that, as the Church recognises it to be natural and therefore of divine devising for men to attach themselves to a motherland and to organise themselves in states, it is impossible that she should be anti-patriotic or anti-national.

M. Maurice Blondel, whose reply comes next in order, is a well-known Catholic writer of independent and original views. He reminds us what a very new *word* 'nationalism' is. He thinks that this indicates the

existence in modern and indeed quite recent times of a need for a new word to describe a tendency which, in some respects at least, is new. And he finds the reason for this new tendency in certain modern conditions—financial, commercial and other—which lead men to think in terms of the world rather than of the nation, with a consequent reaction on the part of threatened national feeling. The relatively new notions suggested by the term in question are thus described by M. Blondel :—

A systematic exalting of nationality, of the national spirit, of national traditions and interests regarded as overtopping all others ; the zeal of ethnical and political claims prevailing over everything else ; the resumption, with more complex or even very different views, of ancient attitudes of mind—Jewish, Greek, Roman hatred of the foreigner, and their paradoxical concentration under the domination of new passions ; the pagan apotheosis of the City considered as a visible and jealous god ; canonisation of the political order as though it were the sovereign reality ; "naturist" worship of the race and the barbarous law of struggle for life applied to the concurrence between nations in order to prepare the coming into its own of a chosen nation of masters and supermen ; a falsely mystic imperialism aiming at the mastery by any and every means ; above all the aggressive glorification, not of the idea of the State in general, but of such and such a people in the concrete.

Such, he thinks, are some of the ingredients which, mixed in different proportions, go to make up the confused and complex notion that is behind this word "nationalism."

M. Blondel goes on to point out that there is a way of being "nationalist," as there is a way of being "humanitarian" or "*mondial*," which is the antithesis of Catholicism, which is simply anti-Christian. But there is another way which is quite the reverse, for the legitimate and indispensable diversity of nations must be maintained, and it is the function of nationalism to maintain it. The mistake is to think that nations in order to maintain their nationhood must be so many egoisms in a state of constant hostility to one another, or on the other hand that a man who acknowledges the wrongdoing of his own nation thereby ceases to be nationalist. I pass over much that is interesting and record the closing words : "May so many difficulties (he is thinking of the last ten years and their aftermath), born of fear or ignorance of Christ but insoluble without Him, bring us back to Him again."

Finally let us record the answer of the distinguished Belgian Jesuit, Père Vermeersch, author of many works of theology, philosophy, Canon Law, sociology, and asceticism, and now Professor of Moral Theology in the Gregorian University. With his contribution to the debate we close for the present this review. Father Vermeersch makes a determined effort to get at the correct meaning of this new term. Larousse defines it : "definite preference for what is proper to the nation to which one belongs," and again : "political claims of oppressed nationalities." Good as far as they go, these definitions are not wholly satisfying. Father Vermeersch describes it as "the propensity, strongly felt at the present day, to group homogeneous populations in political societies, to identify political frontiers with those called national." Now all strong sentiments express themselves in certain aspirations ;

common aspirations give birth to parties; parties have their policies, and policies must be justified by theoretical considerations. All these things may be lumped together as nationalism. Nationalism is a good thing so long as it keeps within the bounds of justice and righteousness. It is of two kinds according to whether the nation only aspires to be (like Poland before the war), or actually is, a State. Both kinds may be legitimate. "Who, for instance, did not look with favour on the nationalist aspirations of Poland unjustly partitioned?" He poses the question of how far, apart from such a case, it is permissible to propagate nationalist ideas if they cause disaffection towards a State that is in peaceful possession of its territories. He does not answer this question except to remark that, "so long as the political change has not taken place, nationalists must remember their obligations of fidelity towards the State which considers them as its subjects. Neither their inclinations nor their hopes can dispense them from these duties."

If we suppose the State already existing, the role of nationalism is to place country above party, the interests of the nation as a whole above those of any class or section, and to rally all sections so that the nation may show a united front against any hostile power. Such a nationalism is of course legitimate, but it is not without its dangers. It is prone to be extreme, intolerant towards opponents or fancied opponents, arrogant and aggressive towards other nations. Moreover for the Catholic there is the special danger of letting the interests of religion fall into the background while the supposed interests of the nation take up the whole stage. Father Vermeersch proceeds to contrast nationalism with patriotism to the great disadvantage of the former. Whatever may be thought of nationalism in the abstract, it is clear that the Rev. Professor is not in love with its concrete manifestations. "See it at work! In my own country extreme nationalism has broken the unity of the Catholic forces; it has spoiled vocations to the priesthood; it has propagated anticlericalism; it has cooled religious enthusiasm. Elsewhere it gives rise to rapine, murder, incendiarism." To conclude, one type of nationalism seeks to make of its nation a *patrie:* its claim may be a righteous one. The other aims at the exaltation or the safeguard of the *patrie* already constituted; it may be a matter of real necessity. But both must beware of injustice and intemperateness, and patriotism is something better and higher than the second.

It may be possible on a future occasion to report the replies sent by the other notable personages who have taken part in the debate. Among them are the following:—Mgr. Saric, Archbishop of Sarajevo; Mgr. Chaptal, Bishop of Isionda; Mgr. Batiffol; Mgr. Bianchi-Cagliesi; Father Woroniecki, O.P., Rector of the Catholic University of Lublin in Poland; Father von Dunin-Borkowski, S.J., a writer of considerable influence in Germany; the Abbé Calvet; Professor John A. Ryan of the Catholic University of America, Professor Salvador Minguijon of Saragossa, and several others.

STEPHEN J. BROWN.

REVIEWS

Anthropology

THE GOLDEN BOUGH: A Study in Magic and Religion. By Sir James George Frazer, F.R.S., F.B.A. Abridged Edition. London: Macmillan. 1923. 18*s.* net.

Pere Pinard de la Boullaye, S.J., in a book reviewed in the last number of *Studies*, tersely characterises the contribution of Sir J. G. Frazer to the comparative study of Religion thus: "En 1887 M. Frazer proposait un aperçu d'ensemble. Ayant glané à travers le monde, notamment dans le folklore indo-européen, tout ce qui peut intéresser la question, il livrait au public, en 1890, dans un livre intitulé *Le Rameau d'or*, des brassées de faits sommairement observés et des gerbes d'hypothèses."

The armfuls of facts summarily observed and the sheaves of hypotheses spread themselves out over twelve large and expensive volumes. He has since had the inspiration to condense all these into one, and this volume of 714 pages, with an index of 42 pages, is the result. He is certainly to be congratulated on the skill with which the abridging has been done. The substance of the original twelve volumes is very faithfully reproduced without any trace of lacunae or sutures. Serious students will miss, no doubt, the foot-notes and references.

But then if the truth must be confessed, serious students have never taken *The Golden Bough* too seriously; the public to which it does appeal have here all that pleased them in the original work—the same thesis, unrepentantly maintained in spite of all that has since been written, the same wealth of curious facts often straining credulity, the same arbitrary hypotheses, based on nothing like scientific evidence, the same eternal mockery and derision not merely of superstition but of all religious beliefs and customs, the same enthusiasm for the coming of the reign of science to supersede religion as this has superseded magic, with the logically consistent, but somewhat chilling, admission that even science is not final and may yield to some other interpretation of the universe, the nature of which we cannot even conjecture. Above all they will find the old grace of style, which constitutes the chief merit of the *Golden Bough*, whether we view it laden with all its wealth of foliage or deftly pruned into its present proportions. On this, I think, all critics will agree—on this and on little else. The publishers also have done their part perfectly.

P. J. Gannon.

THE RACES OF ENGLAND AND WALES: A Survey of Recent Research. By H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., Professor of Geography and Anthropology, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. London: Benn Bros. 1923. 5*s.*

THE only complaint that a reviewer has to make about this otherwise wholly admirable little work is its form. The text runs on continuously without break for 108 pages. For some psychological reason it is more difficult to follow the thread of a short, well-written book that is not divided into chapters, than that of a longer, less literary work provided with such landmarks. Even a few paragraph-headings in heavy-faced type would have lightened the reader's task.

The author starts with the postulate that Britain, being at the edge of the ancient world, was a remote spot where "ancient ways and ancient types of men would survive." This leads on to the question of how types of men are distinguished: and so some pages are given to a description of tests of race-discrimination, especially the osteological criteria; concluding with the ever needful warning against unscientific political expressions such as "Latin Race," "Anglo-Saxon Race," "Celtic Race," and so forth. The conclusion is indicated that a large proportion of the modern inhabitants of England and Wales derive their physical characters from the Pre-Roman inhabitants, "who were already of many breeds, established side by side."

The next point touched upon by the author is that most difficult problem, the correlation of archæological evidence as to cultural progress with anthropological evidence as to racial movements. A brief but satisfying summary is given of the present state of knowledge on Palaeolithic and early Neolithic Archæology and Anthropology; it would be difficult to find anywhere a better model of lucid compression than this discussion, which occupies nearly half the book. Once more, as in Mr. Peake's work on the Bronze Age, recently reviewed in *Studies*, we find the Irish gold-mines given their due meed of importance in the history of early movements of peoples and of commerce in the Bronze Age. We are glad to note that Prof. Fleure recognises the "serious improbability" of the Goidelic speech having been introduced into the British area so early as the "Beaker Migrations": and also that he accords its true place to commerce (as opposed to migrations) as a powerful agent in the diffusion of culture. The few words given to the problem of the dolmens are quite excellent.

Few parts of the book are more interesting than pp. 64 ff.,

where the author discusses the historicity of Tradition. The easy theory of the Folk-lorist, that a community will continue to relate tales of creating beavers and of giant-killing Jacks, but will within a hundred years lose all memory of impressive historical events (plagues, volcanoes, battles and the like) or of great historical men, has always seemed to the present writer a crude absurdity, and it is pleasant to find Prof. Fleure indicating the same conclusion. He even dares the wrath of the pundits by taking up the cudgels on behalf of Geoffrey of Monmouth. This delightful old writer has been superciliously thrown on the scrap-heap as a romancer, or something worse, by the scholarship of Europe, bemused till recently by its obsession of "Herr-Professorism." And yet his "History" succeeds in making a singular impression of truthfulness on one who comes to it with an unbiassed mind. Even when traditional romances relate frankly impossible incidents, Prof. Fleure shews that they are still of great importance from the point of view of social history. The few pages devoted to this subject—which, as our author says, "cannot as yet be argued out in any detail"—are worthy of careful pondering.

The remainder of the book discusses (1) the fundamental Pre-Roman races of Britain, and the causes and results of their racial modifications; (2) the subsequent changes due to later immigrations; and (3) the present geographical distribution of racial types in South Britain. It would be impossible to summarise these pages; they are themselves a closely condensed and concentrated summary, every sentence of which requires to be carefully read. As a *multum in parvo* the book before us is a masterpiece.

R. A. S. M.

Biography

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By Elizabeth Butler. With Illustrations. London: Constable. 1922. 18*s.* net.

LADY BUTLER gives us here the jottings of a well-filled and variegated life. The eager-eyed traveller, the wife of a great soldier, the amused social observer, the woman of genius, the industrious artist—all these characters cross and colour each other in the pages of a record that starts in mid-Victorian days and comes up to the Irish troubles of 1922. Lady Butler has not sought to emulate her sister's glory as a writer; and, besides, what an awkward field to glean it in is this of reminiscences, where, amid contemporary persons and passions, one must grope for the words and phrases that half-conceal and half-reveal—a field where none can write at ease but the imprudent

or unfeeling ? To neither of these classes does this diarist belong ; but when her course lies smooth, when (above all) the beautiful things of nature and of man's outer life are her theme, then her *verve* is often manifested in an excellent marshalling of words.

There are many illustrations from the writer's own sketches ; they are, of course, good ; but we are inclined to quarrel with them for being so exclusively military. It seems odd to see the world thus in terms of war ; yet how few of us have a broader—if any—outlook ! One must respect the sense of *métier* in the artist whose *Roll-Call* upset the good order of a Royal Academy exhibition and led Queen Victoria into an unusual straining of royal prerogative. Concerning which curious facts the reader may turn to the chronicle here given of the year 1874. There are, let us hasten to add, some pretty non-military sketches—two being from the West of Ireland. The letterpress also has some things of specially Irish interest. Lady Butler's tone towards her husband's compatriots is that of a friend generally admiring but sometimes puzzled. It ante-dates recent happenings in which she had some passive share, and concerning which there is a brief sad word.

Of good pen-pictures of things and persons vividly seen the book is full beyond possibilities of quotation. Childhood days, spent in happy travel with enlightened and accomplished parents, Roman, Florentine, Egyptian scenes, reviews, banquets, exhibitions, processions, empresses, Ruskins, Tennysons—the whole later Victorian epoch lives here again. If the details are sometimes trivial, they are nevertheless seen from a wide intellectual and religious outlook, as well as vivified by a keen but kindly wit. G. O'N.

THE MacCARTHYS OF MUNSTER. The Story of a Great Irish Sept. By Samuel Trant McCarthy, D.L., J.P., M.R.I.A., The MacCarthy Mor. Dundalk : Dundalgan Press. 1922. pp. 399. 12*s.* 6*d.*

As a general summary of the record of the Clan MacCarthy, this carefully-prepared volume will be certain to be widely sought. Drawn mainly from printed sources, and written with a good deal of personal interest in the details of genealogies, the eighteen chapters and seventeen appendices will beyond question stimulate interest in the larger masses of first-hand work and general records, to which the writer makes full and detailed acknowledgment. No less than twelve chapters, covering more than two hundred pages, are devoted to careful and highly useful summaries of the history of the chief subdivisions of the great clan : and this well-balanced

distribution of attention between the main line and the subdivisions of the name are an index of the fairness and equity of treatment which characterise the work from the opening to the close. The style is throughout clear, straightforward, unaffected: there is a commendable absence of any attempt at such fine writing and grandiloquence as have often disfigured the modern histories of other clans, clans in no way comparable, as to achievements and historic dignity, with the race of MacCaura. The appendices are full of much interesting and curious reading, and are in nearly all cases relevant to the main narrative.

We would suggest the addition of brief notes to both the appendices, and to several of the very interesting portraits that have been assembled for insertion into this very meritorious general survey. These notes should indicate precisely the sources and documents relied on, and the places where the originals are preserved.

T. C.

TENNYSON. By Harold Nicolson. London: Constable. 1923. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

IT is unfortunate for the fame of Tennyson that he has always been regarded as an integral part of the Victorian Age and that we are at present strangely contemptuous of that great generation. There were two circumstances chiefly that caused him to be thus identified with his own times. Firstly, the specific quality of his imagination was a power of reproducing with minute accuracy the things that he actually saw and heard. But, though his inspiration quickened his art above the dead level of photography, he was incapable of creating from this material anything essentially different from the world of his acquaintance. His Edens were but glorified rectory gardens and his concept of Adam doubtless included an inchoative Roman collar. Despite a tentative contention of Mr. Nicolson's, he could never have been a Pre-Raphaelite, never have felt at home in any conditions more exotic than the time and land of his birth. Secondly, he was the object of the adulation of Victorian England, largely due (is it unkind to suggest?) to his making friends with so many great names by writing them dedicatory poems. A cult grew up around him that almost recalls the worship of the Caesars; he was the herald of Victorian greatness and Victorian ideals. But the present age, though not quite sure of its own stature, has lost interest in an age alleged to have been mediocre because its prosperity seemed effortless; and the fame of Tennyson has foundered with the fame of the age that proclaimed it.

Mr. Nicolson has set himself the task of restoring Tennyson to

his rightful place midway between apotheosis and disdain ; and he has surely done so in the minds of all who read his book. The second of the two reasons for Tennyson's neglect he has dealt with at length in lively and well-reasoned prose. The former, the psychological reason (which is the more important of the two), he has confined to some half-a-dozen pages. He here advances the strange view that the above-mentioned limitations of Tennyson's creative imagination, strictly so-called, were not imposed upon him by his nature but rather by the fashion of his age. As if any poet with genuine creative power could possibly be persuaded by any nation or individual to pretend that he lacked it, or could even prevent its manifestation by his own will ! There are some smaller points too on which not all will agree with Mr. Nicolson. Nevertheless the criticism is generally both convincing and original, and the narrative portions so vivid as almost to confer on biography the truth of fiction. It is a charming book. A. L.

THE LIFE OF CHEVALIER CHARLES WOGAN : An Irish Soldier of Fortune. By J. M. Flood. Dublin : The Talbot Press. 1922. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. J. M. Flood is already well known as the author of several interesting books on Irish subjects, and it is a pleasure to welcome a short biography of Chevalier Wogan, inasmuch as Sir John Gilbert's volume is rare and expensive. In enumerating the sources for Wogan's biography Mr. Flood quotes " the collection of Stuart Manuscripts in Windsor Castle . . . 1715 to 1718," but he might have added that six volumes of these MSS., admirably calendered, have been issued by the Historical MSS. Commission.

The date of Wogan's arrival at Ohlan is given by Mr. Flood as " March 27, 1718 " ; this date should be February 27. Nothing could be better than the summary of Wogan's wonderful rescue of the Princess and of the hairbreadth escapes till Bologna was reached. It would have given an added interest to the narrative if Mr. Flood had inserted the well-known portrait from the Bologna Archives, of the marriage by proxy of the Princess Clementina Sobieska to James III at Bologna, in which Wogan appears, acting for the Stuart sovereign. Wogan was also present at the actual marriage ceremony at Montefiascone, early in September, 1719.

It was a happy thought to print Wogan's correspondence with Dean Swift between the years 1732 and 1736 ; this correspondence, to be found in Dr. Ball's admirably edited edition of Swift, reveals Wogan as not only a brilliant soldier of fortune, but as a perfervid Irishman, proud of all Irish achievements, and of keen literary

instincts. It is pleasant to picture Wogan foregathering with men like Pope, Gay, Arbuthnot, Young, and Swift, and it is no less gratifying to find him criticising the *Beggar's Opera*, which had been written by Gay at the suggestion of Swift—an opera which is even now (March, 1923) in its third continuous year of revival.

The account of Rathcoffey and its neighbourhood would have been made much more interesting had Mr. Flood consulted some of the back numbers of THE CLONGOWNIAN, especially some papers by Father M. Devitt, S.J. However, the book should prove most acceptable in colleges and schools; for, though historical and trustworthy, it is a first-class romance, and is attractively produced by the Talbot Press. W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

Celtica

TOGAIL NA TEBE. The Thebaid of Statius. The Irish Text edited from two MSS., with Introduction, etc., by George Calder, M.A., B.D., D.Litt. Cambridge: University Press. 1922. 42*s.* net.

THE pedestrian muse of Statius is not likely in these days to win for the poet a fresh hearing among lovers of literature or students of antiquarian lore. But there was a time when his descriptions of the wars and combats of the Greek heroes around the walls of Thebes prompted some Irish writer to produce a prose version, or rather adaptation, of his work in the style of the native sagas, with the traditional strings of alliterative adjectives demanded by the popular taste from the twelfth century to the seventeenth. The adapter even introduces the Irish war-goddess Bé Néit among the Olympians. More than half of the text was edited some years ago by the late Professor Mackinnon in the *Celtic Review*, but the work was so unscholarly that it may be ignored.

Dr. Calder is well known to Irish scholars as the editor of the *Irish Aeneid* (Ir. T. Soc. Vol. VI.) and of the obscure tract on grammar called *Auraicept na n-Eces*. His edition of the *Thebaid* is beautifully printed, and published with the aid of a grant from the Carnegie Trust; and as he intends it to be used as a class-book, he has given a vocabulary and index of over a hundred pages, though the price is likely to keep it out of the class-room, at least in Ireland.

The work was worth doing, not however for the literary value of the text. The subject-matter was stale and conventional even in the time of Statius. But for linguistic purposes such translations are useful. They add much to our knowledge of the Middle Irish

vocabulary, while, apart from literary affectations, the translator generally writes in the language of his own day.

But in these matters Dr. Calder is an unsafe guide. He starts with the assumption that the text is Early Middle Irish. In proof of this he alleges the plural article (but his example, *in cluichi*, is singular and takes a singular verb), a quite imaginary dual form, a trace of the neuter which might be found in the Early Modern period, and the deponent forms of verbs. But the deponents which occur are common in Late Middle Irish ; most of them, forms like *tucastar*, are not found in Old Irish at all, and several are in common use at the present day. The language is simply Late Middle Irish. Having made a wrong start, the editor finds traces of Old Irish throughout, imaginary infixed pronouns, perfective uses of particles, and so on. He even divides *da úib* " to his grandsons " as *d'aúib*, in order to get a dat. pl. of Old Irish *aue*. In such company a preposition *cun* " unto," 4220, would seem out of place. But it is a " ghost-word " : *cun chathughadh* in the text means not " unto war " but " at the fighting " ; *'cun* (var. *acon*) is the prep. *ac* (*ag* etc.) with the def. art. The worst results of this confused notion about Old Irish are seen on the remarks in the vocabulary on relative construction, where we are told that the first syllables of *dothuit*, *dochonncadar*, *robui* are substitutes for the rel. particle *no*, and on *ro*, where *da robi*, " of all that was," is explained as " that which could arise."

The forms and syntax of the substantive verb and the copula have always been the most bewildering things in Irish grammar. Dr. Calder has not yet mastered them. One might have thought that *is im-si Airgia* " I am Argia," 4723, was a misprint for *is misi A.*, yet the incredible *isim-si* is parsed as 1 sg. of *is*. *Dursan nach e in dei da n-adraid ita id richt*, 2851, is correctly rendered " pity it is not the god ye worship that stands in thy likeness," but in the vocabulary *e* is said to be plural, and *ita* to be the relative of *is*. So *corabais* is taken as perf. of *is*, *corb e* treated as *cor-be*, supposed to be pres. subj. of *táim ;* in fact the lists of forms under *is* and *táim* are in hopeless confusion. Other verbs give less scope for error, but we find *dogab* treated as the pret. of *dogabaim*, *dochuadus* " I went," as perf. of *dotiagaim* " I come " ; *diusigsiu* " awaken thou " parsed and translated as 2 sg. perf., and so on. Even the syntax of personal pronouns has not been grasped : *rochraith sug amro isi for a ech*, 3760, is rendered " she shook a wondrous juice upon his horse " ; *amro* is equated with *amra*, and evidently *isi* is taken to mean "she." We should of course read *sug amroisi* " juice of ambrosia " ; Statius says *ambrosio tunc spargit membra liquore.*

As an instance of the misunderstanding of simple words we may take l. 3200. The young Atys, who is betrothed to the king's sister, feels bound to fight bravely *ar gairi* (var. *goire*) *in cleamnasa* "for the closeness of (or possibly, out of loyalty to) the relationship." The editor puts the word under *gáire*, and translates "after jeering at their relationship." Or take ll. 4432-4: "vast was the hatred and envy of that man, to wit, Eteocles, at Polynices, as he saw him kinging it, so that he hailed him to the contest." In the Irish it is Polynices who envies Eteocles "for the kingly state with which he advanced to the contest"—*ar a rigdacht concuingeadh* (var. *concing*) *dochum an chomraig*. Mistakes of a more elementary type are the translation of *doimh* "oxen" p. xv. by "associates"—it is given in the vocabulary as pl. of *dám* "band"—and *a fir oir* in the same passage by "O man of gold"—it means "O ploughman."

But it is needless to enlarge. Many pages of this review could be filled with lists of blunders and inaccuracies. The book will not add to Dr. Calder's reputation. The only thing in its favour is that, with all its defects, a text of nearly five thousand lines contains much useful material for advanced students. Beginners should use it with the greatest caution. O. J. B.

LAOCHRA GAEDHEAL. Tomás Ua Concheanainn agus a chéile do sgríobh. Baile Atha Cliath: Comhlucht Oideachais na h-Eireann. 1923. 2*s.* 6*d.* a luach.

AON smaoine amháin a bhí im aigne tar éis an leabhair seo do léigheamh .i. gur mór an truagh, agus gur mór an díoghbháil, d'aos óg na tíre cunntas ar bheathaidh na nGaedheal i dteangain na nGall a bheith acu i n-aon-chor, agus go mb' fhearrde seacht n-uair iad muna mbéadh acht leabhair bhreágha Ghaedhealacha de'n tsaghas so idir lámha acu sa bhaile is ins na scoileannaibh. Ní h-ionann san is a rádh ná h-oireann "Laochra Gaedheal" acht don aos óg amháin; oireann sé, ar ndó, do gach aoinne go bhfuil lóchrann an tír-ghrádha is an chreidimh ar lasadh go lonnrach 'na chroidhe. I nGaodhluinn bhinn bhlasta Chúigeadh Chonnacht 'seadh sgríobhann an Concheannaineach is a bhainchéile oirdheirc. Trí h-alt déag atá sa leabhar .i. alt fé leith ar gach uile laoch de na fíor-laochaibh so leanaid: Cormac mac Airt, Pádraig naomhtha, Colmcille, Brian Bórumha, Ruadhrí O Conchubhair, Art mac Murchadha, Tomás an tSíoda mac Gearailt, Seán O Néill, Aodh O Néill agus Aodh O Domhnaill, Eoghan Ruadh O Néill, Padraig Sáirséal, Wolfe Tone agus Domhnall O Conaill. Maidir leis an réim sgríbhneóireachta b'

fhéidir gurab fhearr gan "tiubharaidh muid" (L. a 14) agus "is feicthear dhúinn" (L. a 37, etc.) do sgríobhadh, pé acu cluintear imeasg na ndaoine iad nó ná cluintear. Adéarfainn leis gurab fhearr leo san a thaithnigheann comh mór leó deagh-Gaodhluinn na sgríbhneóirí "san áit chéadna" i n-ionad "san áit cheanann chéadna" (L. a 41, etc.), "aon lá amháin" i n-ionad "aon lá áithrid amháin" (L. a 43), "thuit si nún marbh" i n-ionad "thuit sí do phlimp mín marbh" (L. a 47), "dáiríre" i n-ionad "dáiríre píre" (L. a 66), a fhagháil sa leabhar.

Dá sgríobhfadh an Concheannaineach agus a bhainchéile stair na h-Éireann go h-uile as Gaodhluinn bhéadh clanna Gaedheal ar fuid an domhain go léir fé chomaoin acu. Sé mo ghuidhe nach fada an mhoill go dtosnóchaid ar an sár-obair sin. F. O. R.

Fiction

MARTINSWOOD. By Richard Ball. London: Sands, 1923. 7s. 6d. net.

In his first novel—*The Better Part*—Mr. Ball gave us a romantic tale of Ireland some four centuries ago. In the book now under review he writes of modern Ireland, or at least of Ireland as she was some twenty years back. No dates are specifically mentioned, and of political conditions there is no hint; indeed, were it not for passing allusions to the Land Acts and to motor-cars, it would be difficult to gauge to a nearness the exact period with which he deals. Castles and belted earls find no place in this story, which concerns itself with shopkeepers, farmers, and county folk.

"*Mrs. Murnane's letter, like Mrs. Murnane herself, was haphazard and indecisive; but its meaning was sufficiently clear for all that.*" The judgment passed by the author on Mrs. Murnane's epistolary effort may, not unfairly, be applied in some degree to this novel. There is a certain quality of vagueness about it. Various characters drift through the story in a misty sort of way without directly affecting the main theme, and the word "shadowy" may not unappropriately be used to describe even the leading *dramatis personae*. These things notwithstanding, a definite narrative eventuates.

Mr. Ball is, one would be inclined to think, a young writer. It may, therefore, be said without offence that he shows distinct promise. Firmness, sureness of touch, are qualities in which he is lacking at present; but he is evidently a close and shrewd observer, writes pleasantly, albeit he has not as yet evolved

a distinctive style, and if he elects to make themes such as he has chosen in *Martinswood* his line of work should in time rank among successful Irish novelists.

Kitty O'Driscoll, her brother Larry Kirwan and Mrs. Murnane, the shopkeeper's wife already mentioned, are the outstanding characters in the book, and form a striking contrast to the rather nebulous folk who make up the rest of the caste. Thus, Nancy who inveigles Larry into marriage (with the alluring bait of £5,000) and George Martin of Martinswood who accepts rejection by Mrs. O'Driscoll with equanimity for snobbish reasons, should, by right, be no less clearly drawn than those other three that have been named. As it is, however, their outlines are faint, and the reader is not impelled to take a serious interest in them. Spinster aunts full of acrid speech and family pride are well depicted, and reveal the fact that the author is a keen observer of human nature.

The hunting episodes read well (if one entirely unfamiliar with the pastime may venture an opinion), and should prove attractive for those addicted to this form of sport. Humour does not obtrude itself in Mr. Ball's pages any more than politics, but a dash of the former would enliven the story not a little. There is, however, a sense of comedy shown here and there, notably in the scene where Nancy begins to work her spell on Larry, and again when Mrs. O'Driscoll is "leading on" the indeterminate George. It is to be hoped that the author will persevere on the path which he treads in *Martinswood ;* for it should lead him eventually to a prominent place among those who have made a study of Irish life the subject of their books.

W. D.

History

HISTORY OF THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE : From the death of Theodosius I to the death of Justinian. By J. B. Bury. 2 Vols. London : Macmillan, 1923. 42*s.* net.

THE Professor of Modern History at Cambridge has long been known as an encyclopædic authority on the later Roman Empire, editor of Gibbon, and father of the Cambridge Mediæval History. These are, however, by no means his sole titles to learned fame, and the work before us stands as the monumental last phase of a somewhat interesting, if not very kaleidoscopic evolution. He began as an erudite classical scholar, most imaginative among the editors of Pindar. He turned early to history, a department in which his work has been always marked by two predominant tendencies : a reverence for freethinking and a passion for the objective method. The first tendency was strongest in his *History*

of Greece, a book which is deservedly in universal use as the best exposition in English of modern research on the subject. In that work he was, while strongly biassed towards a very Victorian conception of Free Thought, still very much a "philosophic" historian, who saw everywhere causes and effects and cosmic tendencies, and was sometimes led, perhaps under the influence of Eduard Meyer, into a subdued enthusiasm which lights up his somewhat compressed and pedestrian style. This enthusiasm and liking for generalisation was the sign of youthful fire in him. When, after a period of work on Rome, he succeeded to Lord Acton at Cambridge, the two contesting influences—Augustus and Acton—succeeded in killing his enthusiasm and reducing his passion for free thought to something like dust and ashes. His little *History of Freedom of Thought* was not very enthusiastic, and his latest *Idea of Progress* came to the rather cheerless conclusion that there was not so much in the Idea after all. All that remains of him is an objective historian, perhaps the most successful of them all in his Olympian impartiality, a very Didymus Chalcenteros in his appetite for knowledge; there is very little heart in him; he rumbles like a text-book on electricity, he never cries with a great voice like Merivale nor thunders like Gibbon.

To some scholars, most of all probably to himself, this will seem his great advantage. The book before us is a most valuable book, unequalled for its combination of minute learning and critical acumen, throwing light on countless dark places, and giving us a new conception of many incidents by its very objectivity. It is not, however, a history in the sense in which the work of Thucydides was one. Professor Bury is so interested in every detail that, while we have all the events, we can with difficulty connect them, and large tracts of his work are as hard to read as would have been a collection of his sources. For the ordinary reader a great part of his first volume—his account of Stilicho, of Alaric, of the reigns of Theodosius II and his Western colleagues, of the Vandal conquest of Africa—while lit up here and there where the sources are interesting by men like Chrysostom, are exceedingly difficult to assimilate. We may wonder that one small head can carry all he knows, but our wonder is tempered with surprise and disappointment that he did not utter his knowledge more attractively. The mountain of learning has by no means brought forth a mouse—its progeny is more like a fossilised elephant.

Here and there, as we have said, the great subject rises superior to Professor Bury's style, and the reader can let himself go, comforted

by the knowledge that what charms him is the result of the very latest knowledge. The chapter on " The Neighbours of the Empire " is a good example, with its details on Persian and Roman diplomatic punctilio, its characterisation of the Germanic barbarians—we wonder whether the war has contributed to Professor Bury's sound insistence on their barbarity—and its account of these little-known Altaic peoples of whom the Huns were an offshoot, the Hiung-nu, the Sien-pi, and the Zhu-Zhu. He makes excellent use of the one considerable extant fragment of Priscus to enliven his story of Attila, and minimises one of the resounding echoes of our youthful readings in Creasy, the Catalaunian plains, in favour of the later and more obscure battle of the Nedao as a cause of Hun decline. He has a valuable chapter on the significance of Augustine, Orosius and Salvianus, who explained to the Romans the reasons for the decay of Rome. In this chapter his objectivity fights itself to a standstill. He concludes that the gradual transformation of the Western Empire cannot be explained by any general considerations such as depopulation, but was due to a " series of contingent circumstances "—the youth of Honorius for example. This of course is quite sound, but it amounts simply to saying that things happened thus and thus, which is not history but primitive annals. Here is the whole weakness of Professor Bury's latest phase—the vast mass of facts has left him incapable of doing more than saying what exactly did happen. Surely the contingencies had something in Roman institutions, military policy, financial system and social conditions to work on, and if modern learned history cannot explain them, then it is learned indeed, but not history.

The second volume covers a shorter period, but a period lit up by the genius of Procopius—and Professor Bury explains in his last chapter that the survival of Procopius' writings was due after all to something more than contingencies. Here again, Professor Bury has indeed given, as he promises, a fuller account of Justinian's reign than is given in any other single work, and has an authoritative word to say on everything, particularly on the battles of Ad Decimum, by which the Vandal kingdom in Africa was recovered. and of Busta Gallorum and Mons Lactarius, in which Narses annihilated the resurgent power of Totila. Here too the interest of his story overcomes his telling of it. No one can read of that great legendary figure, Khosroes Anushirvan, without feeling himself in the presence of something half mortal, half jinn, capricious, impersonal, and inhuman. He waged three great wars with the Romans, raiding Roman Asia, collecting tribute, and departing ;

he destroyed Antioch and tried to rebuild it with its plundered treasures near Ctesiphon in his own dominions ; he impaled one of his generals for having allowed himself to be vanquished by a "huckster"—a rapacious Roman officer—in the Caucasus, and was altogether a true Oriental, lavishing lives and treasure aimlessly to accomplish nothing.

In his treatment of the reconquest of Italy and Africa, Professor Bury, while very accurate, fails a little, it is to be feared, to be as exciting as he promises. And we miss in his pages the great figure of Justinian, who in spite of his faults was really the portent that M. Diehl, in his more impressive way, makes of him—the Macedonian peasant boy, becoming "le représentant éminent de deux grandes idées—l'idée impériale, l'idée chrétienne." To Theodora the Professor does full justice ; he does not repeat the foul stories over which Gibbon sniggers discreetly in a note, but he shows us the imposing mixture of great good and great evil that she was. Her character gives good scope for objectivity in a historian. On Roman Law and its progressive humanisation and simplification under Greek influence, Prof. Bury is instructive, and this is one of his best chapters, marred only a little by the usual anti-christian prejudice. Objectivity can never overcome this, which dogs the footsteps of all historians of the Roman Empire since Gibbon, and lurks for example in Prof. Bury's confessed warming to the story of how Pope Vigilius in the Three Chapter controversy "dragged," as he puts it, "in the dust the dignity of the Roman see." As the period bristles with theological struggles, it can be imagined how Prof. Bury's method displays itself in their elucidation ; but at any rate it may readily be admitted that he is fairer than Gibbon.

To do full justice to the wealth of information contained in the book is impossible in a short space. Prof. Bury has mastered relevant research in every European language, and the use he has made of it can be seen in the debt his account of the Slavs owes to Peisker's brilliant work, of which the article in the Cambridge Mediæval History is a sample. Prof. Bury's work might be said to sum up all others, and almost to supersede them were it not for his attitude, which makes us long for a few minutes of Strachey in between his hours of plodding omniscience, and which will leave many readers glad to return to smaller but more inspiring works, such as those of Diehl, or to the still solid and classic achievement of Finlay.

M. Tierney.

Philosophy

ETUDES DE PHILOSOPHIE MEDIEVALE. By Etienne Gilson. Strasbourg and London : Milford. 1921. 6*s.* 6*d.* net.

THIS important work, by the Professor of the History of Philosophy in the University of Strasbourg, consists of a number of studies dealing mainly with mediæval philosophy and with Descartes. They bring out, perhaps more clearly than any historical work hitherto published, the central importance of Thomism in the history of philosophy. St. Thomas is " the first modern philosopher in the full sense of the word." His philosophy is the first in the Western world to give reason its full rights. He is the first link in the chain that joins up the Oriental and Greek philosophies with modern philosophy.

The first essay, on the sense of Christian rationalism, surprises us at first by grouping together Erigena, Anselm, and Abélard. Widely as they differ, they are similar in the function which they assign to reason. All three take their stand on Revelation, and give reason the task of clarifying what we already possess through faith. The name " rationalism " as applied to them has, therefore, a very limited sense. It emphasises the rights of reason—not of reason as working against faith, but as either identical with, or resting on, faith. In studying Erigena we must beware of the fallacy of interpreting him in the light of knowledge which we have, but which he had not. Nowadays we distinguish between the religious and the scientific point of view ; but to Erigena the world had only one meaning, the religious meaning. Nature was to him simply a vast symbolism, expressing the same meaning as the Scriptures express. Reason has no other aim than to find out the true sense of Revelation. His rationalism extols a reason which is not really distinct from faith. Anselm's watchword, *fides quaerens intellectum*, does not mean the justifying of the truths of faith by demonstrative arguments drawn from reason. His " demonstrations " of the Trinity and Incarnation presuppose these truths as already known through Revelation. Even the ontological argument for the existence of God is not put forward by him as a strictly rational proof. Abélard applies, indeed, dialectic to theology ; but his explanations of the Trinity and other mysteries do not imply more than that they can be illustrated, made clearer, by examples and analogies drawn from things which we can clearly comprehend.

The second essay is entitled *La servante de la théologie.* A homily of St. Peter Damian is cited as illustrating the profound distrust

with which the Church regarded profane philosophy in the period which led up to that epoch-making event of the last years of the 12th century—the foundation of the University of Paris. A letter of Gregory IX. to the masters of theology shows the same attitude. Considering the place of philosophy in the new seat of learning in its beginning, it is difficult to imagine that, not so long later, its professors will be restoring and commenting on the works of the pagan Aristotle.

In the third essay, on the doctrine of the two-fold truth, it is ingeniously maintained that this doctrine was never held as such by any school, but was rather urged by opponents against certain views as a false or absurd consequence which they logically involved. In the case of contradiction between philosophical conclusions and propositions of faith, some of the Averroists held that reason should give way to faith, while others held that faith should give way to reason. A more kindly view is taken here of Siger of Brabant than that of Mandonnet in his scholarly monograph. Siger is an Averroist in his philosophical conclusions, but he does not regard these conclusions as necessarily true. Nothing in the texts, Prof. Gilson thinks, justifies the view that he held these conclusions to be true when they conflicted with faith.

The next essay, on the historical significance of Thomism, is a powerful vindication of Thomism as a philosophical system. Only by looking back at the state of philosophical thought in the 13th century can we appreciate the advance made by Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas. The Augustinian tradition held the field. Bonaventure is the most finished exponent of this tradition. The chief characteristics are, a fusion of faith and reason, a symbolist view of nature, a dualist psychology, a mystical theory of knowledge—which makes knowledge even of natural things depend on divine illumination, and allows a direct knowledge of God, and even a natural knowledge of the Trinity. As compared with this, St. Thomas's system appears coldly scientific and even naturalistic. The line between faith and reason is sharply drawn. The soul is not a complete substance, but the organizing principle of the body, and only as united to it has its full natural perfection. The mind has no innate knowledge, and must work on materials provided by the senses. The material world is the natural object of human knowledge. It is not a mere mirror which reflects the Divine, but is worthy of study on its own behalf. Knowledge of God is not direct, but inferential; it has, moreover, definite limits, and is far from being coextensive with faith.

I have not space to treat of the other chapters dealing with Campanella, with the sources of Descartes' doctrine of innate ideas, with his physiological views as related to Harvey and to the Scholastics, and with his work on Meteors. J. SHINE.

THE IDEA OF IMMORTALITY. The Gifford Lectures, 1922. By A. Seth Pringle-Pattison. Oxford: Clarendon Press; London: Milford 1923. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

To those who have made the acquaintance with Professor Pringle-Pattison's philosophic method in his well-known volumes on German Idealism, published some forty years ago, the present work and its predecessor, *The Idea of God*, will stand in need of no special recommendation. As might be expected, we have much excellent criticism of different theories. But the constructive portion of the work also claims attention. The effort to combine a radical acceptance of the evolutionary hypothesis—as applicable to the soul as to the body—with a belief in personal immortality, if neither sound nor convincing, is at least interesting

Many problems and many aspects of the belief in survival after death are touched on, and an attempt is made to estimate the philosophic value of such beliefs, be their origin animnistic, philosophical, or religious. Thus as well as the metaphysical arguments, the author subjects to an acute and stimulating consideration the views of the Hebrews, of the Greeks, of Orphism (the importance of which for Plato is rightly insisted on), of Brahmanism and Buddhism.

Much of this examination also naturally helps to throw light on his own theories—a help for which the reader should not be ungrateful, for when it comes to positive exposition a certain vagueness and uncertainty are apparent. But we gather that in the author's view too rigid definition and consistency in metaphysical speculation are not desirable. On the whole, though there is much that is delightful, I must confess that I get from the volume the same kind of impression that the author does from Plato, that his beliefs are sometimes stronger and sounder than his arguments And if there is weight in the charge (p. 66) which he brings against Aristotle, I fear it tells with more force against himself. His modifications and "more consistent" application of the Aristotelian view of the soul as the "entelechy" of the body, even when supported with the theory of creative evolution—a conception left very vague both here and in the *Idea of God*—will hardly do the work that is required of it. And I am not quite sure that he does

not abandon it, at least to the extent that he accuses Aristotle of so doing. Furthermore, why is he not really "radical" in his application of the idea of "creative evolution," so as to apply it to God as well as to the human soul? To do so might be more consistent, but would certainly be fatal to his argument for immortality.

Perhaps the most satisfactory method of treating the book is to regard it as the exposition of the views which a long life of meditations on this important subject has led a philosophically gifted mind to adopt, rather than as a full presentation of the proofs on which these views are based. For what we get are persuasive considerations to convince us that we are not foolish when we look forward to a future life. This and the criticism of rejected theories are done with such literary skill that at times the reader may overlook the fact that he is being won over by a strong epithet instead of a strong argument.

The grounds on which the author bases his rejection of the "ethical" and "simple substance" arguments will certainly not carry conviction to anyone who has ever fully grasped their full force. The "religious" argument, based on the relation of the soul to God, and on the discrepancy between human capacities and ideals and the limited opportunities of man's earthly existence, is that on which he relies, and his treatment of it, as well as much else in the book, should ensure his efforts a sympathetic reception.

The least satisfactory passages are those in which he deals with the Scholastic conception of the soul. And yet taking the book as a whole I am not quite sure that he is not much nearer to that conception than he dreams, that in fact here his error is not at least as much one of history as of theory, in that he attributes to the Scholastics a view which they never held and so confutes them with arguments that have no application. The importance of the "punctual" conception of the soul-substance is considerable in the history of *modern* philosophy, and its unconscious influence *e.g.*, as a promoter of subjectivism, is well worthy of investigation—an investigation for which few minds, I make bold to say, would be more fitter than our author's But why attribute this conception to the Scholastics—to whom it is wholly foreign?

Professor Pringle-Pattison's own conception of the soul seems to me neither satisfactory nor wholly consistent If the soul is the "entelechy" of the body, how can it be defined as only "the systematic unity of the *conscious* experiences of a particular individual centre—the individual centre being defined or determined

at the outset by the bodily organism " ; and if it can survive the dissolution of the body, how is it not a substance in the Scholastic sense of that " unfashionable " and " much abused " term ?

J. M O'S

Poetry

THE POETS' LIFE OF CHRIST. Compiled, arranged and decorated by Norman Ault. London : Milford. 1922. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

MR. NORMAN AULT here shows himself a connoisseur in good poetry. He has with deliberate care and good judgment excluded inferior, commonplace and banal work from an anthology in which such things might easily have figured largely.

From some other points of view the volume may deserve less commendation. As a study of the life of Christ it gives a Catholic reader the impression of remaining somewhat on the surface. Thus, the continued earthly life of the Redeemer in the Church and in the Eucharist, the divine love which shines out in these institutions, are things which devout souls may feel to be disappointingly absent or too little suggested in any of these numerous pages. For the poet does not narrow himself to the simple narrative of Christ's life on earth, but also expatiates on fields suggested by His preaching, parables and doctrine.

When it comes to the question of authors and items omitted, of course many readers will have many suggestions to make. It seems odd that the name of Newman should wholly fail to appear, that C. Patmore should appear with but two pieces—one of them very slight, and Francis Thompson with but one—his "Little Jesus " poem, which could not well have been missed. Joseph Plunkett's sonnet " Christ in the Universe," and perhaps some other lines of his would have enriched the collection. Future editions ought to turn their eyes towards the new American poet, Father Charles O'Donnell. For the present the most astonishing omission is that of so eminent a poet and singer of the Incarnation as Aubrey de Vere. His *May Carols* is one of the finest long poems of the nineteenth century ; it is a masterly exposition of the theology that belongs to and encircles the scheme of Redemption. It would have been nothing strange if the anthologist had found himself embarrassed by the abundance of choice provided by so rich a field ; it is strange that he merely passes it by.

As might be expected, the seventeenth century comes out well ; it often gains, however, by the anthologist's judicious compressions and excisions. Crashaw and Vaughan take the lead with twenty

poems each. Alice Meynell contributes a fine conclusion to the whole with her imaginings of Christ as the redeemer of a million worlds, as known and loved in "the Pleiades, the Lyre, the Bear."

The numerous new and anonymous poems quoted from old manuscripts are amongst the most precious parts of Mr. Ault's volume. G. O'N.

Politics

A HISTORY OF MEDIAEVAL POLITICAL THEORY IN THE WEST. By A. J. Carlyle, M.A., D.Litt. Vol. IV. London: Blackwood. 1922. 30*s.* net.

VOLUME IV of this interesting series covers only a brief portion of the mediaeval period and a comparatively restricted range of problems—those, viz., affecting theories of the relation of the Empire and the Papacy from the tenth to the twelfth century. Other subjects of even wider appeal, such as theories of the sovereignty of the people, which are mediaeval, and certainly are contained under "political theory in the West," are not dealt with here since they more properly belong to a later period. From this it will be seen how thorough and minute is the author's examination of the single group of questions to which he confines his attention. The same subject that is completed by Rehm in thirteen pages of his History of Political Science is here developed through nearly four hundred and without any attempt at padding. Indeed, considering the amount of scholarship displayed, one is almost inclined to complain of over-compression.

The references to authors is satisfactorily full. Like Pastor the writer does not deny his readers the context, a feature of great value, particularly where the discussion is one of theories. The reader will find much that is new and stimulating even in the old problems suggested by the names of Gregory VII and Frederick I; but the chapter that many will find the most interesting is the second last, dealing with Gerhoh of Reichersberg, the connecting link with so much that was important in later history, ecclesiastical and profane. In Gerhoh are all the signs of storms to break in the sixteenth century. The very epithets, the nuclei and expressions of all the passions of the Reformation are here. The spirit of the "regalia *versus* investiture" controversies is the spirit of others very far removed in point of object and time. I have seen no other such ample acknowledgment of the outstanding importance of this truly remarkable man as that accorded him by Mr. Carlyle.

There is an excellent index and a good bibliography, which should prove of much value to students of the tenth to the twelfth century.

I miss the important name of Irnerius. After all, the subject of the relation of Roman to Canon Law can hardly be regarded as foreign to the problem of Prince and Papacy in the twelfth century. MICHAEL CRONIN.

CATHOLICISME ET POLITIQUE. Par Georges Goyau. Paris : Editions de la *Revue des Jeunes.* 1923. 9fr.

No one in France to-day is a greater authority on the relations between Church and State—in their historical and spiritual rather than in their strictly legal aspects—than M. Goyau, and in this, his latest volume, he gathers together some of his more recent studies that illustrate phases of the problem as they present themselves in contemporary Europe. The aim of the book is clearly, though discreetly, propagandist ; it has been written primarily to maintain and increase that " reciprocal confidence " between the French Republic and the Holy See of which a French Minister accredited to the Vatican is the open and visible guarantee, and in a general way to unfold before the reader arguments to prove the traditionally Christian and peaceful role of France in European policy.

M. Goyau is above all the Christian optimist, with an optimism so robust that he apparently looks out untroubled over the torn and suffering Europe of to-day. To him France is still essentially, as it is historically, a Catholic nation. Even the long and bitter struggle which ended in the breaking of the Concordat and the dispersal of countless religious houses is passed over as something temporary and superficial and not to be compared for an instant with the Lutheran intolerance of the Kulturkampf. France, he admits, might appear on the surface " an unbeliever, a libertine, an atheist," but it was only because " the depths of our soul remained veiled." With a delicate acuteness he analyses the " idée laique " which, in the years before the war existed in France in a form unknown in other lands, a conception which isolated France in a very real sense among Christian nations ; but he is able also to point out that this " idéologie laique," which may develop noisily and insolently in times of peace and security, has nothing to offer when a vital peril threatens the country. It is then that religious faith comes to the fore conferring inexhaustible strength and courage on the people. The re-introduction of the religious idea into the civic life of France, which the *union sacrée* has rendered possible, is shewn as one of the happy results of the war ; and the special services rendered in support of it by two great churchmen, Cardinal Amette and Mgr. Baudrillart, receive grateful recognition. Other

fighters in the good cause to whom vivid pages are devoted are Paul Thureau-Dangin, the historian, Henri Bazire, the eloquent young barrister who became President of the Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Française and made it a real force in the land, and Charles de Montalembert, while Joseph de Maistre is at least plausibly shewn to be much more modern and much less reactionary than is often assumed. A brief but revealing chapter describes the recent penetration of Italian political life by Christian ideals and the sudden emergence of the Partito Popolare with its programme directly based on the teachings of the *Rerum Novarum*. It was the learned economic treatises of Toniolo that laid the foundations of the fiscal schemes of Meda and Don Sturzo, so that in very truth "faith inspired science and science gave birth to action."

The closing sections of the book deal more directly with international matters, with the religious situation as between France and Germany and with the Encyclical *Ubi Arcano Dei* of Pius XI. Here, it must be confessed, national prejudices are allowed to override all sense of historic impartiality. One can but smile sadly at the *naiveté* of the optimism which leads M. Goyau to believe, no doubt in all sincerity, that the Rhineland population of the occupied territories is to-day making comparisons between Prussian and French ideals and methods wholly favourable to the latter. It is on a par with the conviction, so dear to certain Englishmen, that the natives of Egypt and India are being favourably impressed when they are being held down by British bayonets. And like the publican of old he openly thanks God that his nation is not as other nations and that the incisive words of Pius XI, pointing out that the nations of Europe are brothers in the great human family, need convey no warning to French ears. It would be interesting to read a candid German Catholic review of M. Goyau's volume.

V. M. C.

Scripture

THE BOOK OF JOB. A revised Text and Version. By C. J. Ball. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1922. 25*s.* net.

THIS study of the Book of Job contains an introduction, a translation of the critically revised Hebrew text, a critical, philological and exegetical commentary, and several indexes—including one of the Sumerian words which occur in the book. The work is introduced by a preface from the pen of Dr. Burney.

The Introduction discusses at length the general purpose and the structure of Job. The problem of Job is explained to be the problem of Providence in general, and the problem of the suffering of the just in particular. Dr. Ball believes that the writer of Job

solves these problems by teaching that man has no right to question God's ways, that he must accept without protest whatever happens, "acquiescing without reserve in the dealings of Providence, but assured that in the end all will come right." This standpoint of the author is obscured, Dr. Ball thinks, by interpolations of later writers. Of these the longest is that which contains the harangues of Elihu. The speeches of Elihu, defending the disciplinary, religious value of suffering, are "a record of the criticism provoked by the original work at some date not long subsequent to its publication." The monologue in praise of Divine Wisdom in ch. 28 "is another manifest instance of later interpolation." Apart from the interpolations, the Book of Job is an eminently original treatment of the problem of Providence, and is not in any sense a mere copy or imitation of any existing work on that subject. Yet the author has not created his hero, for Job appears as one of the saintly men of the olden time in Ez. xiv. 14, 20. Further, the author may have had before him literary treatments of the theme of Providence which may have influenced both his thought and his language. One such possible model of Job is discussed at length by Dr. Ball. It is the so-called "Babylonian Job," the soliloquy of the Babylonian King Shubshi-meshre-Nergal. This text is given in transliteration and translation with a learned Commentary, so that the student can form his own opinion as to the extent in which the Babylonian text may have influenced the Hebrew Job (and, incidentally, Daniel, ch. iv.).

The date of Job Dr. Ball cannot fix with confidence; various reasons, however, incline him to ascribe its composition to the Persian period.

The Translation of Job, based as it is on a careful criticism of the Massoretic text, is almost a Commentary in itself. The language and rhythm are dignified, and reproduce well the spirit and the dignity, and partly the rhythm, of the original. The Commentary is very scholarly: it keeps in view constantly the ancient versions, and it is very strong on the Sumerian and Akkadian side. In spite of its wide reach of scholarship it is not diffuse, and to a student it is everywhere interesting. In a text so difficult as Job finality in emendation is practically impossible, and few scholars will adopt the majority of Dr. Ball's emendations. But no one will question the value for the student of his subtle and discriminating suggestiveness. As a specimen both of his translation and of the outcome of his critical dealings with the text of Job, we give here his rendering of the familiar passage Job xix. 23-27:—

O that my sayings might be written,—
My words inscribed in a roll,—
That with stylus of iron and with lead

They might be graven in rock for ever!
For I, I know my Avenger;
At last he will come forward on earth!
I shall see, yet living, El's revenges,
And in my flesh gaze on Eloah!
I myself shall behold Him, not Another,—
Mine eyes shall look on Him and no Stranger!
My vitals are wasted with waiting
Until my hope shall come.

It will be noted that Dr. Ball's interpretation of Job does not move along the lines of Christian tradition; but it is nevertheless, abundantly full of critical scholarship, and no specialist student of Job can afford to leave it unstudied. P. Boylan.

LES SYMBOLES DE L'ANCIEN TESTAMENT. Par le Père D. Buzy. Paris: Lecoffre. 1923.

In *Les Symboles de l'Ancien Testament* Père Buzy has collected together and commented on the various symbols found in the prophetical books of the Old Testament. He claims that his book is the first monograph ever written on the subject. This claim seems to be well founded.

The author defines a symbol as "a sign, act or vision designed to foreshadow a future event." The definition is a little too narrow. But it is a perfectly accurate description of the majority of the symbols. Here is an example. The prophet Jeremias is instructed by God to take "a potter's earthen bottle" and break it in presence of some of the ancients of Jerusalem. He is directed to explain that the breaking of the bottle is a symbol of the destruction that is to come on the city.

However, there are symbols that do not correspond exactly to the definition given above. They foreshadow no future events. The prophets were teachers as well as seers, and they used symbols to reinforce not only their prophecies but their teaching. Symbols intended to emphasise a prophecy may be called prophetic symbols. Those designed to drive home a lesson may be called didactic symbols. As an instance of a didactic symbol we may cite the incident of the potter's broken vessel. The potter, before the eyes of the prophet Jeremias, fashioned a vessel on his wheel. The vessel proving defective, the potter broke it up and moulded the clay into a new vessel. The lesson is drawn by the prophet himself. The nations are in the hands of God as clay in the hands of the potter. No future event whatever is typified. The same is to be said of the symbol of the Rechabites. The Rechabites were invited by Jeremias to drink wine which he had placed before them. They courteously refused, explaining that they had a law

forbidding them to drink wine. Here again no future event is foreshadowed. The prophet, in order to teach the Jews the *lesson* of obedience to the Law, set before them the fidelity with which the Rechabites observed the prohibition of their ancestor Jonadab, son of Rechab.

The controversies that have centred round the symbols are for the most part concerned with the reality of the symbolical actions. Did Isaias really go about for three years barefooted and without his cloak ? Did Jeremias literally break a bottle ? Did Ezechiel lie immovable on his left side for 190 days and on his right side for 40 days, or did the whole incident take place in a vision ? Père Buzy, for very valid reasons, decides that these particular incidents and many others really took place. For equally good reasons he decides that certain symbolical acts, such as the swallowing of the manuscript by Ezechiel, took place in vision only.

In discussing the various difficult questions connected with the symbols, the author displays a remarkable sureness of judgment. He also shows unfailing courtesy to those who hold views different from his own. P. BARTLEY.

LECTURES ON THE APOCALYPSE. The Schweich Lectures, 1919. By R. H. Charles, D.Litt., D.D. London : Milford, 1922. 6*s.* net.

JEWISH Apocalyptical literature is a branch of research which Archdeacon Charles has made peculiarly his own and enriched with several standard works. To these publications he added in 1920 a lengthy commentary on the Christian Apocalypse of St. John, and, with the object of summarising and interconnecting the conclusions reached in this work, which is discursive and analytic in character, he delivered in the same year three lectures at Oxford. These lectures, which we are reviewing, were not published until 1922, and the delay has enabled the lecturer to discuss some of the criticisms passed on his commentary, and, while correcting a minor error of translation, to reaffirm his conviction of the truth of his conclusions.

From a triple point of view the publications of Archdeacon Charles mark a notable advance in the study of the Apocalypse. A minute examination of the language has shown the presence of some unsuspected hebraisms and revised the hitherto accepted renderings of a few passages, and, what is far more important, has placed beyond doubt the substantial unity of authorship of the whole work. The theory of different documents, more or less skilfully sewn together by an editor, which had fallen into discredit in recent

years, has now received its death-blow. Again, the author's familiarity with apocalyptical literature in general has enabled him to throw light on not a little that was hitherto obscure. And finally, his careful attention to the poetic form, in which four-fifths of the Apocalypse is written, has given us a version that is, in many respects, clearer and more attractive than previous ones.

Unfortunately Archdeacon Charles has abused these modern aids to interpretation, and, almost completely disregarding early ecclesiastical tradition, which serves to check such abuse, has mixed a good deal of chaff with the wheat and reached some decidedly arbitrary and hurtful conclusions. He contends in particular that the Apocalypse was written, not by the Apostle St. John, but by an otherwise unknown John the Prophet, who was a millenarist, and that it was revised before publication by a stupid and ascetic editor, who excised verses, made grammatical corrections, confused the original order of the text and interpolated a number of passages. There is nothing original in this theory, made in Germany, like so many others, but Archdeacon Charles shows some originality in its application. The use made of the stupid editor, a veritable *deus ex machina*, to explain whatever puzzles the commentator or disagrees with his theories, may be judged from a brief examination of "two most hurtful intrusions" of his in c. 14, which are supposed to illustrate his "hopeless ineptitude" and "ascetic views."

Verses 14-20 of this chapter contain a description of the last judgment under the figures of a reaping done by Christ and a vintaging done by an unnamed angel. The reaping naturally refers to the just, the vintaging to the wicked, as may be concluded from Scripture parallels and from the restriction of the vintaging to the enemies of God in the text. The editor, according to Archdeacon Charles, interpolated vv. 15-17, in which the reaping is described, and thereby divided the Messianic judgment, represented by the vintaging alone, into two acts, assigning "the former to the Son of Man! and the latter and greater function to an unnamed angel." This is called "the climax of his stupidity," "a depth of stupidity all but incomprehensible," "more than enough to justify his being branded as a heretic," "hopeless ineptitude." More spiritual commentators, like the Protestant Swete and the Catholic Allo, note on the contrary the delicate beauty of the description. While the Lord gathers himself the harvest of the elect, he leaves to a subordinate spirit the punishment of the reprobate. Moreover the attribution of this role to the angels is a commonplace of Jewish Apocalyptic literature, and our Divine Lord Himself, in explaining

the parables of the cockle and the net, has explicitly assigned to them the task of separating the wicked from the just and consigning them to everlasting punishment.

Verses 1-5 of the same chapter[1] form a little poem of very artistic arrangement, in which the vision of the 144,000 virgins, "who follow the Lamb whithersoever he leadeth," is described and explained. The use of a different form of metre marks the division between description and explanation. The Qina, in which the odd members are uniformly longer than the even, is employed in the second half, which runs as follows :—

(*a*) These are they who were not defiled with women,
(*b*) For they are virgins.
(*c*) These are they who follow the Lamb
(*d*) Whithersoever he leadeth.

(*e*) These have been redeemed from among men,
(*f*) Firstfruits to God and the Lamb.
(*g*) And in their mouth hath no falsehood been found,
(*h*) For they are blameless.

Now Archdeacon Charles holds, "on exegetical grounds," that martyrs, not virgins, were celebrated in the original poem. The ascetic editor, misunderstanding the Greek word ἀπαρχή, which means sacrifice here, but which he understood as firstfruits—a meaning, by the way, which it bears everywhere else in the New Testament—and having celibacy on the brain, transformed the martyrs into celibates by interpolating *a b* into the text. He thus "destroyed entirely the original verse structure," viz., five stanzas of three lines each, which is restored by excising also the last line of the fourth stanza, "who had been redeemed from the earth," substituting for it *c d* as one verse, and reading the last stanza as follows :—

These have been redeemed from among men (to be) a sacrifice to God [and the Lamb] [2]
and in their mouth hath no falsehood been found :
For they are blameless.

We leave the reader to judge between the fifth stanza, thus arbitrarily reconstructed and only paralleled in the inequality of its members by modern futuristic verse, and the two original strophes cited above, and so perfect in form and symmetry as to

[1] Cf. Biblica, March, 1923. "A pretended interpolation in the Apocalypse," for a fuller discussion of the "hurtful intrusion" in these verses.

[2] These three words are also excised by Archdeacon Charles, but are proved to be authentic by the corresponding dedication of the 144,000 to the Father *and the Lamb* in the first verse.

exclude all suspicion of interpolation. The elogium of virginity comes most fittingly from the traditional author of the Apocalypse, St. John, but Archdeacon Charles, having excluded the Virgin Disciple from the authorship, finds himself constrained by a curious nemesis to invent an ascetic editor in order to explain its presence.

These defects should not blind the student to the real and very considerable merits of Archdeacon Charles's works on the Apocalypse, but should induce him to use them with caution and preferably not without the antidote provided by the excellent commentary of Père Allo O.P., published almost simultaneously in the *Etudes Bibliques* series. E. P.

Theology

BIBLIOTHEQUE THOMISTE. I.—Bibliographie Thomiste. Par P. Mandonnet, O.P., et J. Destrez, O.P. *II.—La Justice primitive et le péché originel d'après S. Thomas.* Par J. B. Kors, O.P. Le Saulchoir, Kain (Belgique), 1921–1922.

THOMAS VON SUTTON, O.Pr. Ein Oxforder Verteidiger der thomistischen Lehre. Von Franz Pelster, S.J. Innsbruck : Rauch. 1922.

STUDENTS of St. Thomas will be glad to know that the French Dominicans are issuing a series of studies in the history of Thomist theology, to be edited by Father Mandonnet, of which the two first numbers have appeared.

The *Bibliographie Thomiste* contains a list of all works and articles, published since 1800, concerning the life of St. Thomas, his works, doctrines and place in the history of human thought. Supplements to this list are promised for the future. We are glad to see that the articles contributed by Prof. O'Rahilly to STUDIES in 1920 find a place in this bibliography ; references to the *Irish Theological Quarterly* are also frequent.

Original sin is famous as a crux for theologians. Father Kors contributes a study, in which special attention is given to the sources of what are now the classical theses of Catholic theology. Before St. Thomas, two doctors are pre-eminent : St. Augustine and St. Anselm. Father Kors analyses in detail the teaching of St. Augustine as to the nature of original sin. He is not afraid to admit (p. 16) that St. Augustine identified concupiscence with original sin ; and his analysis of the saint's teaching as to the nature of our culpability is well worth reading. Equally interesting is his analysis of St. Anselm's theory as to the transmission of our guilty nature ; here again (p. 30) Father Kors is not afraid to admit

the influence of an " ultra-realist " philosophy, learnt by St. Anselm from the writings of Scotus Erigena. There follow several chapters in which the works of the early Scholastics are examined. Under the influence of St. Anselm, their speculations are mainly of a philosophical character. What were the personal and natural gifts of Adam ? In what do the essence and culpability of original sin consist ? How can the transmission of guilt be explained philosophically ? Father Kors concludes his study with an elaborate analysis (pp. 83–171) of the teaching of St. Thomas in its various stages of development. The result of his researches is to increase our admiration for the analytic acuteness and synthetic powers of the Angelic Doctor. None of the main principles used by St. Thomas in his solution of the problem were new to the Schools. The distinction of nature, grace and the gift of integrity, the privative character of original sin, the relations of nature and personality, the unity of the human race in Adam : all these were either contained in revelation or had been established by Catholic thinkers before his time. But no thinker had pushed the analysis of these truths so far, none had interpreted them so harmoniously. To take a single example : St. Anselm was the first to recognise that original sin is essentially a privation. St. Thomas saw that concupiscence was also a privation, of right order in man's faculties ; and, by a further distinction between the formal and material aspects of original sin—a distinction first introduced by Alexander Halensis—he succeeded in reconciling the opinions of St. Augustine and St. Anselm.

It is interesting to compare with this careful study of a single dogma Father Pelster's account—reprinted from the *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*—of the work done by a single theologian. Thomas de Sutton, a Dominican, a disciple of St. Thomas and a contemporary of Duns Scotus, owes a debt of gratitude to two modern Jesuits : Father (now Cardinal) Ehrle and Father Pelster. But for the labours of these two scholars, de Sutton would be only a name to students of mediæval theology. As it is, we know him to have been one of the most tireless controversialists in an Order which has, very properly, never wearied of controversy. Readers of Father MacInerny's *History of the Irish Dominicans* (Vol. I, pp. 394–416) will remember his account of the battle waged in Oxford, towards the end of the thirteenth century, between the older school of Augustinian theologians and the newly-formed school of Thomist Aristotelians. Thomas de Sutton played a leading part in these disputes, between the years 1290 and 1320. Father Pelster, working on materials provided in part by Cardinal

Ehrle, has succeeded in assigning to de Sutton, with apparent certainty, a whole series of unpublished anonymous works. Some day, no doubt, he will publish these forgotten theological treatises. Meanwhile it is interesting to note some of the controversial points touched on by Father Pelster; for this modern Jesuit has all de Sutton's zest for theological polemics, and the few extracts which he publishes have been chosen with an eye to controversy. Dominican theologians will be glad to find that their English brother of the fourteenth century affirms with emphasis the real distinction of essence and existence. So, too, his teaching as to the nature of free-will is in sharp contrast with what Father Pelster calls the "Scotist-Molinist" doctrine. He is less clear as to the medium in which God knows the *futura contingentia*. Father Pelster sums up de Sutton's teaching in the phrase: "Die *futuribilia* haben ihre *determinata veritas* in sich selbst." I am not so sure that the passage which he quotes proves his point; it certainly shows that de Sutton was doubtful as to his master's meaning. "Sic patet aliqualiter intellectus opinionis, quae est communis doctoris"; such is his modest claim. (The *communis doctor* is, of course, St. Thomas). But Father Pelster is obviously best pleased with another passage, which gives him occasion to argue, on the authority of de Sutton, that the *decreta praedeterminantia* were first invented by the Scotists. This is surely the very refinement of malice. What will Father Mandonnet say in reply? A. G.

Books also received:

A. G. M. ..	.. The Roman Martyrology. (Burns, Oates W., 10/-)
Angas, L. L. B.	.. Germany and her Debts. A Critical Examination of the Reparations Problem. (Simmonds, 6/-).
Arens, Bernard	.. Die katholischen Missionsvereine. (Herder, 6/-).
Barnett, P. A. ..	.. Commonsense Grammar. (Christophers, 1/-).
Bell, Kenneth ..	.. King Henry IV. Part I. (Christophers, 2/-).
Belloc, Hilaire	.. On. (Methuen, 6/-).
Boyne, Felix ..	.. Fleet Street in Starlight. (Selwyn & Blount, 3/6).
Callan, Charles	.. The Epistles of St. Paul. With Introductions and Commentary. Vol. I. (Herder, 25/-).
Chapin, Henry ..	.. Heredity and Child Culture. (Routledge, 6/-).
Chattopadhyaya, H.	.. Perfume of the Earth; The Magic Tree. (Madras: Shama'a Publishing House, 4/- each).
Cohen, Joseph ..	.. Insurance by Industry Examined. (King, 5/-).
Coghlan, Philip	.. Gemma Galgani. (Talbot Press, 2/6).
De Backer, S. ..	.. De Causis Entis Finiti. (Beauchesne, 5fr.).
Donat, Josephus	.. Logica, Ontologia, Psychologia. New ed. revised. (Innsbruck: Rauch).
Ferris, William	.. The Gaelic Commonwealth. (Talbot Press, 2/6).
Fuye, M. A. de la	.. The Lord of Death. A Play. (Longmans, 1/6 and 4/6).
Garraghan, Gilbert	.. The Catholic Church in Chicago, 1673–1871. (Loyola University Press, $2.50 each).
Gore, Bishop ..	.. Belief in God; Belief in Christ. (Murray, 7/6 each).
Gougaud, Louis	.. Gaelic Pioneers of Christianity. (Gill, 7/6).
Hallack, Cecily	.. Beardless Counsellors. (Sands, 7/6).

Books also received—*continued.*

HEMON, LOUIS .. .. La Belle que voilà. (Grasset, 7fr. 50).

HOOP, J. H. VAN DER .. Character and the Unconscious. A Critical Exposition of the Psychology of Freud and Jung. (Kegan Paul, 10/6).

HULL, ERNEST .. .. Thirteen Articles on Freemasonry. (Examiner Press, 12 a.) Collapses in Adult Life. (Examiner Press, 12 annas).

JEAN, CHARLES F. .. Le Milieu Biblique avant Jésus Christ. (Paris: Geuthner).

KORTLEITNER, F. X. .. Hermeneutica Biblica. (Innsbruck: Rauch).

KREIDEL, GEORGE .. Notes of a Catholic Biologist. (Herder, 7/-).

LAGRANGE, M. J. .. La Vie de Jésus d'après Renan. (Gabalda, 3fr. 50).

LANDRY, BERNARD .. Duns Scot. (Alcan, 16fr.).

LYONS, GEORGE .. .. Some Recollections of Griffith and his Times. (Talbot Press, 2/6).

MCKERROW, JAMES .. The Appearance of Mind. (Longmans, 6/-).

MAURIAC, FRANCOIS .. Le Fleuve de Feu. (Grasset, 6fr. 75).

MAXWELL, CONSTANTIA .. Irish History from Contemporary Sources, 1509–1610. (Allen & Unwin, 15/-).

MOCQUEREAU, ANDRE .. Les Principaux Manuscrits de Chant grégorien, ambrosien, mozarabe, gallican publiés en fac-similés phototypiques. Nos. 108–109. (Desclée, 75fr. par an).

MOORE, BETTY AND SAM. .. The Reaping. (Talbot Press, 6/-).

O'BRIEN, GEORGE .. An Essay on the Economic Effects of the Reformation. (Burns, O. W., 7/6).

A Description of the State of Ireland in the Reign of James I contained in a Manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin. (R. S. A. I., 6/-).

O'BRIEN, WILLIAM .. The Irish Revolution. (Maunsel & Roberts, 16/–)

O CADHLAIGH, CORMAC .. Cnoc na Sidhe. (Fermoy: Author).

O CONAIRE, PADRAIC OG .. Solus an Ghrádha. (Dollard, 4/6).

O DOMHNALLAIN, PADRAIC Bruth–Fá–Thír. (Gill, 2/6).

O'GRADY, JOHN .. .. Directory of Catholic Charities in the United States. (Washington: National Conference of C. Charities. $2.50).

PEAKE, E. G. .. .. An Academic Study of some Money Market and other Statistics. (King, 6/-).

POPE, HUGH .. .. The Catholic Student's "Aids" to the Study of the Bible. Vol. III. (Burns, O. W., 7/6).

RITCHIE, A. D. .. Scientific Method. An Inquiry into the Character and Validity of Mental Laws. (Kegan Paul, 10/6).

ROBERTSON, D. H. .. The Control of Industry. (Nisbet, 5/-).

SANTAYANA, GEORGE .. The Life of Reason. 5 Vols. (Constable, 8/- per vol.). Scepticism and Animal Faith. Introduction to a System of Philosophy. (Constable, 12/-).

SMITH, JUDITH .. .. Character Studies of the Women of the Old Testament. (Longmans, 4/6).

SORTAIS, GASTON .. La Philosophie Moderne depuis Bacon jusqu'à Leibniz. (Lethielleux, 20fr.).

SOTTAS, H. .. .. Introduction à l'étude des hiéroglyphes. (Geuthner, 20fr.)

STUFLER, JOANNES .. De Deo Operante. (Innsbruck: Verlag Tyrolia).

TAYLOR, RACHEL .. Aspects of the Renaissance. (Grant Richards, 12/6).

TERRY, R. R. .. .. Liturgical Litanies. Books I–II. (Burns, O. W., 1/6 each).

WALLACE, W. .. .. From Evangelical to Catholic by way of the East. (Calcutta Catholic Orphan Press, 2/-).

WALSH, A. T. .. .. Casey of the I.R.A. (Talbot Press, 6/-).

WATKINS, GORDON .. Introduction to the Study of Labor Problems. (Harrap, 10/6).

WIENER, HAROLD .. The Prophets of Israel in History and Criticism. (Robert Scott, 5/-).

WILBERFORCE, B. .. Memoir of Mother Francis Raphael Drane. (Longmans, 12/6).

WILLIAMS, W. J. .. Report of the Irish White Cross. (Martin Lester),

WOODLOCK, F. .. .. A Criticism of Bishop Gore's Theory of the Catholic Church. (Longmans, 3/6).

WOULFE, PATRICK .. Irish Names for Children. (Gill, 2/-).

YOUNG, CECILIA .. .. A Catalogue and Review of Plays for Amateurs. (Loyola University Press, $2.50).

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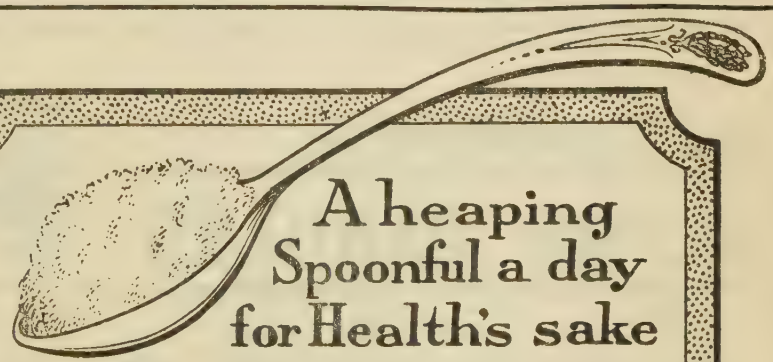

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